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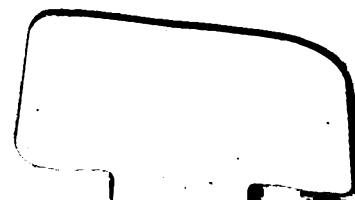
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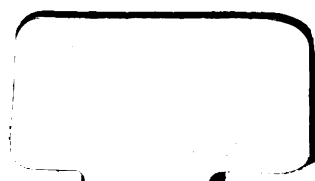




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RESEARCHES AND EXCAVATIONS

CARRIED ON IN AN

ANCIENT CEMETERY AT FRILFORD,

NEAR ABINGDON,

IN THE YEARS 1867 AND 1868.

COMMUNICATED TO THE SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES

BY

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RESEARCHES AND EXCAVATIONS

CARRIED ON IN

AN ANCIENT CEMETERY AT FRILFORD.

THE paper which I have the honour of laying before the Society of Antiquaries was drawn up by me at the suggestion of J. Y. Akerman, Esq. F.S.A. and in the hope that it might serve as a continuation of his "Report of Excavations in an ancient Cemetery at Frilford, near Abingdon, Berks," which may be found in the Society's Proceedings for May 25, 1865.

During the years 1867 and 1868, I have, from time to time, by the kindness of William Aldworth, Esq. the owner of the soil, been allowed not only to watch such quarrying operations as have been carried on upon the site of this cemetery, but also to conduct some excavations there independently of that work. The results of my observations I have arranged under two heads. First, I have given an account of the objects and discoveries of a purely archæological character; and, secondly, I have specified the various conclusions to which my examinations of the very extensive series of human remains have seemed to me to point more or less doubtfully. Appended to this paper will be found, first, a detailed catalogue of all the very numerous objects, both of archæological and of anatomical interest, which the liberality of Mr. Aldworth has transferred to the University Museum; secondly, a tabular catalogue, giving in one view the number, the age, the stature, and the nationalities of the human remains; and thirdly, a *catalogue raisonnée* which presents a similar *coup d'œil* of the different objects of cardinal importance, which have served as fixed points for my various identifications.

Mr. Akerman's investigations had, as may be seen by referring to his paper already cited, led him to the conclusion that Roman or Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon interments were both alike to be found in the Frilford Cemetery, but that the majority of them belonged to the latter of the two nationalities. I

have, however, by the discovery of Anglo-Saxon cinerary urns placed superficially to the relicless graves of which Mr. Akerman speaks, been compelled to refer these inhumations to a period anterior to that of Pagan Saxondom, and to differ herein from the instructor from whom I have learned and to whom I owe so much. It is upon this discovery of Anglo-Saxon cremation urns, containing half-calcined human bones, and holding when discovered, relatively to relicless or all but relicless skeletons found in the ground below them, a position from 15 to 18 inches nearer the surface, that I rest almost the only conclusion to which I have ventured to come in opposition to Mr. Akerman's views. But it is hoped that a record of the somewhat extensive series of observations made in this cemetery during the last two years may serve to cast some light upon certain moot points upon which Mr. Akerman's investigations did not give him an opportunity of remarking.

The cemetery is situated in the angle intercepted between the left bank of the river Ock and the road leading from Frilford to Wantage. Frilford "Field" is now brought under cultivation, but the tradition that this portion of it is haunted still survives in the recollections of the rustics, one of whom informed me that, though he had never seen them there himself, ghosts were supposed to be particularly likely to be seen at a single thorn-bush* which stood, some time back, close to the site of these graves. Great numbers of Roman coins have been and still are found by labourers engaged in ordinary agricultural work all round this spot; and fragments of very many varieties of Roman pottery are equally accessible, though, of course, much more abundant, on and in the superficial layers of the now cultivated fields. There is much other evidence to show that Roman civilization had taken firm root in this locality, and some of this evidence will appear in the course of my account of the excavations in the cemetery. But two excavations which we made in two spots, about a couple of hundred yards distant from the cemetery, gave us a more vivid idea of the wealth and civilization of the Roman

* The growth of this thorn-bush may have been accidental here, but we know that thorns were purposely planted on tumuli. (See Jacob Grimm, *Verbrennen der Leichen*, Berlin Abhandl. 1849, pp. 203, 209, 242, 244; Nillson, *cit. in loc.*; Max Müller, *Zeitschrift Deutsch. Gesellsch. Morgenland*, ix. 11. Theocritus, Idyll xxiv. 87; where Wüstemann remarks in his commentary, "Omnibus spinarum generibus vim noxarum depellendarum inesse existimabant veteres." See also *Horæ Ferales*, p. 69). The neighbouring tumulus known as "Barrow Hill" is beset with thorn-bushes at the present day; and the British barrow of Dinnington, in South Yorkshire, on the estate of J. C. Athorpe, Esq. was similarly clothed. The thorn may have belonged to the "*certis lignis*" used, according to Tacitus, *Germania*, xxvii. in the cremation of chiefs.

or Romano-British inhabitants of the place, which their Saxon conquerors named Frilford, than anything which we found in the burial ground, which both races successively occupied. Mr. Aldworth had observed the greater greenness and strength of the crops upon these two patches of ground; and by his suggestion I dug into them with the result of finding,^a for a depth of ten feet or more, an aggregation of fragments of pottery of the most varied patterns and degrees of fineness mixed up with similarly fragmentary bones of the ox, sheep, pig, and dog, and with other articles, such as knives and coins, which, like the bones and shards specified, would be expected in the rubbish-heap of a great house. The site of this great house I have not found; but I strongly suspect that the quarry, whence the stones for its construction were taken, was employed for, and is now represented by, one or other, or both of those pits of rubbish. This short history illustrates the truth of a remark recently made by the Hon. W. O. Stanley^b as to the imperfection of "the investigation of sites and of dwellings in the early times;" but time and opportunity may enable me to supply this deficiency. In the meantime, the discovery in the cemetery of four interments in leaden coffins, and after the Roman fashion, so fully described by the Abbé Cochet,^c furnishes additional evidence as to the character of the civilization existing here in the times of the Later Empire, which the excavation of hypocausts and tessellated pavements might confirm, but cannot be thought necessary to complete.

Four other kinds of interment, one Romano-British and three Anglo-Saxon, have been observed and described in the following account of the excavations at Frilford. The Romano-British interments differ from those just mentioned merely in being of less expensive character; they constitute the greater part of all the interments I have examined at Frilford, and that they are Romano-British is, to omit for the present other evidence, proved by the fact that superficially to them in the soil I have found Anglo-Saxon urns containing burnt human bones, and belonging, therefore, to the first periods of Anglo-Saxondom in England. About half of the Anglo-Saxon interments discovered here were interments in the way of cremation; and of the various patterns of the urns several figures will be found in the plates illustrating this paper. The other half are cases of inhumation with the well-known Anglo-Saxon relics, and, in adopting inhumation, the Anglo-Saxons either dug shallow graves without regard to the points of the compass, independently of, though often superficially to, those of their conquered predecessors; or, secondly, they dug deeper graves pointing to or towards the East,

^a See Catalogue, *infra*, Sept. 24, 1868.

^b *Ancient Interments and Sepulchral Urns in Anglesea*, p. 19. ^c *Normandie Souterraine*, pp. 29, 30.

following thus Christian precedent both as to depth and as to direction, but diverging from the practice of the Romano-Britons in setting stones round the graves instead of protecting the body in a wooden or other coffin; and whilst doing this, they sometimes—all supposed scruples as to secondary interments* notwithstanding—displaced one body, probably that of one of their predecessors, to make room for the corpse they were interring with the same orientation. I say it is probable that where an Anglo-Saxon skeleton is found to have displaced another set of remains, the primary interment was a Romano-British one, because I think it improbable that the half-heathen custom of interring with insignia should have been combined for a sufficiently long time with the Christian method of deep and oriented interment to allow of one body thus interred being sufficiently forgotten to be safely displaced. Burial with insignia was early discontinued by Christianised populations, except in the cases of distinguished personages ecclesiastical and temporal,^b and the Anglo-Saxons I have exhumed do not appear by their insignia to have belonged to either of these classes.

In all the inhumations which I have examined at Frilford, the bodies had been extended at full length, and in the cases of Romano-British burials more or less oriented. The fact that the deviation from orientation is usually towards the south may seem to indicate that the majority of deaths took place then, as now, in the winter-quarters of the year, when the point in the horizon at which the sun would rise would be south of east.^c

I. *Of the Roman Interments in Leaden Coffins discovered at Frilford.*

By a reference to Mr. Akerman's paper already quoted, it may be seen that two leaden coffins, each of which contained a skeleton, and one of which contained a coin of Constantine the Great also, were found in the Frilford cemetery in the autumn of 1864. The commencement of my researches in this cemetery dates from the discovery in it of a third and fourth coffin of similar character and

* The Abbé Cochet in the first edition of his *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 185, had stated that "l'usage d'enterrer plusieurs fois aux même endroit est éminemment moderne;" but in the second edition of that work, pp. 209, 432, 436, and also in the *Tombeau de Childeric*, p. 55, he has receded from this untenable position. Grimm, towards the conclusion of his paper, *Ueber das Verbrennen der Leichen*, *ubi supra*, p. 269, quotes the words of Sidonius Apollinaris, "Jam niger cæspes ex viridi, jam supra antiquum sepulchrum glebæ recentes," to show that the practice was only too well known to the Christians of the later Roman Empire.

See also Friedr. Simony, "*Die Alterthümer Halstatter Salzberg*," Wien, 1851.

^b See *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ii. 852.

^c Cf. Abbé Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine*, ed. i. pp. 192, 193, 255, 265.

*W. Ashmole Sig. A. 12. 16 p.
W. Ashmole A. 12. 16 p.
1889. p. 209. Ashm.*

Porter said to have been laid down to save the bodies as much as possible from pressure!

contents to these, in the month of January, 1867. These interments were near to each other, ten feet only intervening between the foot of the one and the head of the other grave. The direction of the graves was 45° south of east, which, when corrected for the magnetic variation, would give E.S.E. as the true bearing. The coffins were at a depth of about five feet below the present surface of the soil, and this greater depth, as well as their greater intrinsic costliness, would seem to show that their tenants had been persons of greater wealth and consideration than the occupants of the similarly oriented graves of which we shall have to speak next. The length of the coffins is 6 feet 4 inches, and their breadth 1 foot 6 inches. Both of the coffins have undergone much mechanical change in the way of contortion and crushing, and they contrast herein to disadvantage with certain coffins of the same period in the British Museum, and in the Museum of Antiquities at York, which still retain the form which was conferred upon them at their manufacture.* The Frilford coffins have also undergone much chemical change, the metallic lead having been changed both on their exterior and throughout their substance into the red oxide and carbonate, whereby they have suffered great loss of plasticity and flexibility. Each of them possessed a lid, which appears to have been simply laid upon the top of the rectangular coffin proper without any soldering. Large nails with square heads were found in relation with the coffin, and as woody fibre, shown by microscopic examination to be probably oaken, is still plainly enough to be detected upon the urn, even with the naked eye, it would seem that the leaden coffin had been surrounded by a wooden one.^b An analysis of the substance of these coffins, which I owe to the kindness of Heathcote Wyndham, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Merton College, shows that it contains 3.28 per cent. of tin, and that the coffins resemble in this, as in other particulars, those described by the Abbé Cochet in his *Normandie Souter-*

* The leaden coffins to be seen in the British Museum were dug up in Camden Gardens, Bethnal Green, in the excavations for the new Docks at Shadwell, and in Whitechapel. For the coffins in the York Museum, see Professor Phillips' *Yorkshire*, p. 247, and *Descriptive Catalogue of Antiquities* in York Museum, by the Rev. C. Wellbeloved, p. 77, and his *Eburacum*, p. 112.

^b This conclusion rises to certainty almost when we read the account given by Ralph Thoresby, *Phil. Trans.* 1705, No. 296, p. 1864, of the excavation of a coffin, "probably interred 1500 years ago," which was seven feet long, and was "inclosed in a prodigious strong one made of oak planks, about two inches and a half thick, which, beside the riveting, were tacked together with brags and great iron nails . . . they are four inches long, the head not diewise, as the large nails now are, but perfectly flat and an inch broad." The length of the Frilford nails is four and a half inches, and the breadth of their heads one inch and a quarter. See also L'Abbé Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine*, ed. i. p. 30; *Archæologia*, vii. 376, 381. Bloxam's *Fragmenta Sepulchralia*, p. 39.

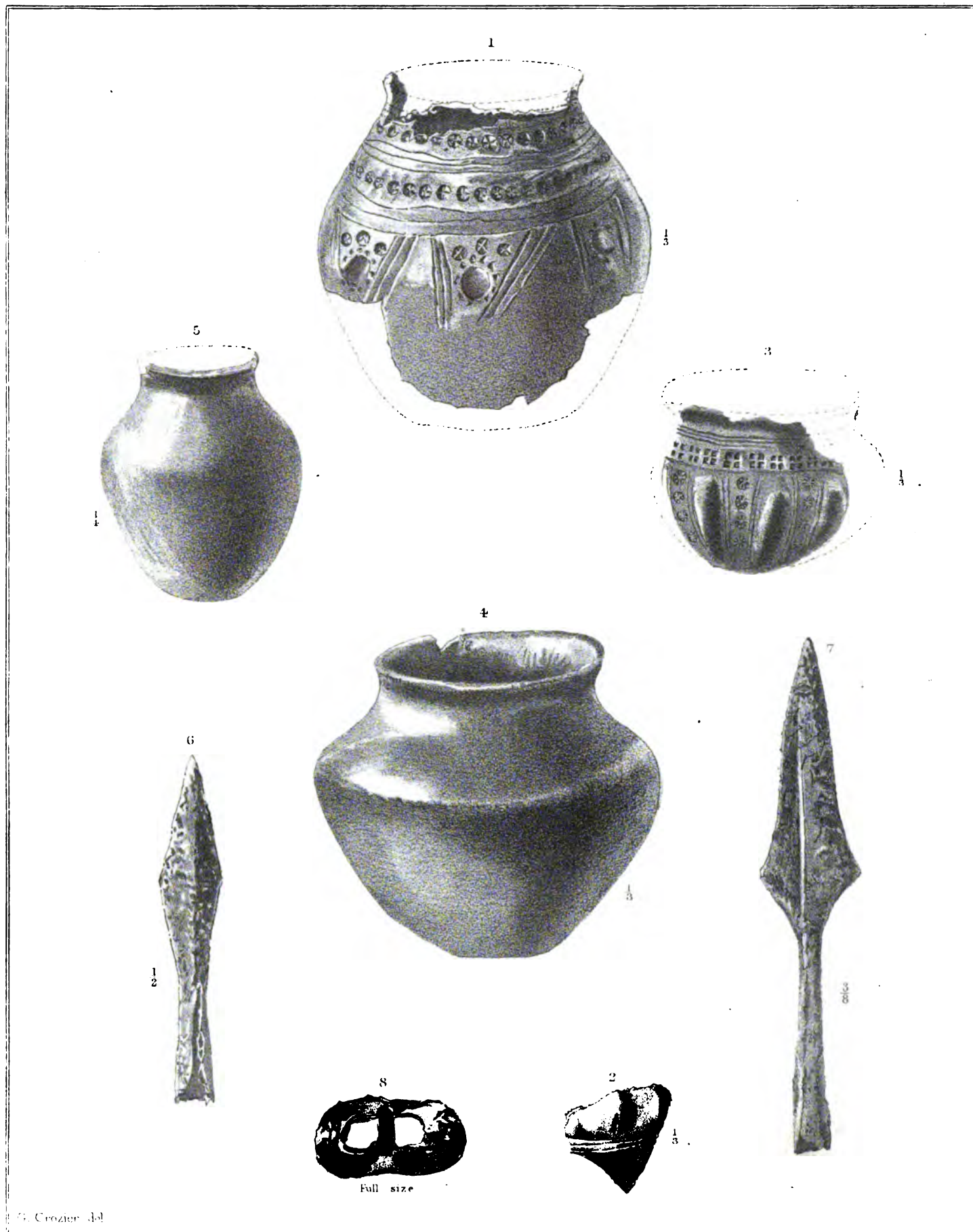
rairie, pp. 28-31, as characteristic of the Gallo-Roman period in France. In each of these coffins was found the skeleton of a strong man, who was at the time of his death considerably past the middle period of life. Of the anatomical characters of these skeletons I shall have to speak in detail later; it is sufficient to say here that they show that the individuals to whom these bones belonged were strong men, in the possession of the means for culture and comfort which those days could afford, but who had also suffered much from the physical and other inclemencies which we know to be the natural incidents of the life of the soldier. In one of these coffins five coins were found, of which one was a coin of Constantine the Younger, another of Valens, and a third, which, like the first, was a third-brass specimen, was a coin of Gratian. By means of this last coin we are enabled to say that this interment took place, in all probability, within the short but eventful period which elapsed between the accession of Gratian and the evacuation of Britain by the Legions, inasmuch as the departure of the Romans may be reasonably supposed to have entailed the collapse of the civilization and customs which they had introduced and supported.*

II. *Of the Roman or Romano-British Interments without leaden, but in most cases, probably, with wooden coffins, and in semi-oriented graves.*

The second and most numerous class of interments that we meet with in this cemetery are found occupying parallel, or nearly parallel, rows of trenches, running, to speak generally, from a point more or less north of west to one more or less south of east, and containing, very commonly, besides the skeletons, bones and teeth of domestic animals (though not in the great abundance noted in other Romano-British cemeteries), fragments of charcoal, oyster-shells, shards, flints, and nails, with woody fibre adhering to them. In some of these graves coins were discovered, in addition to the other objects just specified. Now, we are not justified by the presence of any, nor, indeed, by the presence of all, of these peculiarities, in concluding that any interment is Roman or Romano-British, the imitative^b tendencies of the Teutonic races having led

* For a note of a discovery of leaden coffins in the neighbourhood of other Roman remains, see Schaafhausen, *Die Germanische Grabstätten am Rhein*, 1868, p. 131.

^b For the imitative tendencies of the Teutonic races generally, see Coote's *Neglected Fact in English History*, p. 44; Worsaae's *Primeval Antiquities of Denmark*, Eng. Trans. 1849, p. 140; Engelhardt, *Denmark in the Iron Age*, Preface, p. viii.; Von Sacken, *Leitfaden zur Kunde des Heidnischen Alterthums*, p. 158; Wylie's *Fairford Graves*, p. 30; Merivale's *Conversion of the Northern Nations*, p. 92; Roach Smith, *British Assoc. Report for 1855*, p. 145. For the presence of bones of animals and their teeth in Anglo-



ANTIQUITIES FROM AN ANCIENT CEMETERY AT FRILFORD. (I)

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Cemetery at Frilford, Berks.

7

them somewhat slavishly into copying the customs of the world they subdued, even in points relating to such matters as the burial of the dead. Each and all of the objects have been found all but indifferently in both Anglo-Saxon and Romano-British, in Frankish, and in Gallo-Roman graves. I was first convinced that these interments, more than fifty of which have been under examination at Frilford since I first became acquainted with the cemetery, contained the remains of Romano-Britons, and not of Anglo-Saxons, by the discovery of the unmistakeable Anglo-Saxon urn, figured Pl. XXIII. fig. 1, about fifteen inches above a skeleton occupying one of these graves (No. vi. Sept. 1867). Two other skeletons, one of an old woman interred with three coins (No. iv. Jan. 9, 1868), and one of an old man (No. iii. April 1, 1868) were found subsequently occupying the same position relatively to similar Anglo-Saxon urns containing similarly burnt human bones. It is possible, however, to object to this apparently satisfactory argument; first, that the deeper-lying body may have belonged to a Christianised, and the cremation urn to an apostate, Anglo-Saxon's burial; or, secondly, that the cremation urn belonged to an Anglo-Saxon funeral which took place in the heathen pre-Augustinian period, but that it was carefully replaced, after having been disturbed, to make room for one of the same race who had died after the evangelization of Berkshire by Birinus. Both these objections—the former suggested to me by Mr. Akerman, and the latter by the reading of Mr. Roach Smith's letter in the *British Association's Report for 1855*, p. 145,* are, however, fully met by the discovery, on four different occasions, of Anglo-Saxon skeletons, verifiable as such by their insignia, and with no constant relation to the points of the compass, in the same relative position to these interments as that already described as being held by the cremation urns. (See *infra* Catalogue, No. xviii. February 8, 1868; No. ix. September 25, 1868, *infra*.) It is possible, though not probable, that an urn, even of the fragility and elegance of those figured, may have been replaced in its entirety, heavily laden though it was with its contents; but it is impossible to conceive that a similar pious painstaking can have laid out a disturbed skeleton a second time in the full and due proportions of the unarticulated bones possessed by

Saxon graves, see Wylie, *l.c.* p. 24; Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, Introd. p. xvii. For that of charcoal, Wylie, *l.c.* p. 29; Akerman, *Further Researches at Long Wittenham*, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix. For that of shards and flints, Douglas' *Nenia Britannica*, pp. 10 and 34; Wylie and Akerman, *ll.cc.* For that of the *Portorium*, Lindenschmit, *Archiv für Anthropol.* ii. 3, 1868, in review of Wanner's work, and in his own work, *Die Germanische Todtenlager beim Selzen*, p. 51; Von Sacken, *l.c.* p. 154; Akerman, *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 165. See also Abbé Cochet, *Tombeau de Childeric*, *passim*, and *Normandie Souterr.* p. 31.

* See also *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, Introd. p. xvi. and p. 8.

the skeletons found lying superficially to the "grave-row" interments of which I am speaking as Roman or Romano-British. The variation in the direction of the two bodies lying one above the other, the deeper being always the oriented one, excludes, of course, the possibility of their having been interred at the same time, as after a battle bodies are buried one above another in trenches. The funeral feast, and the visit to the burial-place of a beloved relative, will account sufficiently for the presence of the teeth and bones of the domestic ruminants, and the pig, in these graves. In the Romano-British cemetery at Helmingham in Suffolk, which I had an opportunity of examining through the kindness of the Rev. George Cardew, relics of this kind were more abundant than I have found them to be in the Frilford cemetery. Oyster-shells were found in considerable abundance in both these cemeteries, as the other indications of Roman occupation would have led us, *à priori*, to expect. I may perhaps here say, that it does not seem clear to me that any great probability attaches to an argument for the heathen character of an interment from the discovery there of such evidences of a funeral feast as the bones of domestic animals. The instinct so beautifully alluded to by Wordsworth, in his well-known poem "We are Seven," has in itself nothing repugnant to the spirit of Christianity, though the actual practice at the grave-side may and often did degenerate from that of the "little Cottage Girl"

Who took her little porringer
And ate her supper there.

Scandal arose out of the abuse of the funeral feast; but, inasmuch as the Church in all ages has acquiesced in the retention by newly-made converts of customs which, though heathen in origin, may not have been intrinsically immoral, it is easy to understand how a custom intrinsically laudable may have been tolerated when kept within due limits. As to the actual practice being rife amongst Christians* the numerous denunciations and inhibitions issued relating to it afford very abundant evidence.

* The following passages may be cited in addition to those so often referred to from the *Capitularies of Charlemagne*. In the collection of the Canons of the Greek Synods, by Martin Bishop of Braga in Portugal, who died in 580, we find the following words, "Non oportet, non liceat Christianis prandia ad defunctorum sepulchra deferre et sacrificari mortuis." See the *Corpus Juris Canonici*, where the passage is adopted as the text of Decretum Gratiani, De Consecr. dist. i. cap. 29, § 2, under the title *Ex Concilio Martini Papæ*. Hardouin, *Acta Conciliorum*, &c. 1611, iii. 390, has printed Martin of Braga's Collection, and, according to the margin of his edition, this particular canon comes from the third council of Arles, and not from a Greek source. See also Gretzer, *De Funere Christiano*, to which work I owe the foregoing quotation, lib. iii. pp. 159, 164, 166, ed. 1611, where Ambrose, Augustine, Cyprian,

A few bones of the dog and some teeth of the horse were found in some of the interments, but not in such numbers or positions as to make it at all probable that the former were the relics of a favourite animal interred with its master, or that the latter were remains which, in like manner, had been buried from similar, or from superstitious notions, or which had been the leavings of the practice of eating horseflesh which we know existed in those days in spite of the efforts of the Christian priests.*

Fragments of carbonaceous matter are to be found in Romano-British as also in Anglo-Saxon and undoubtedly Pagan interments. It is a little hazardous to pronounce quite positively as to a piece of black woody tissue that it was put into the grave as charcoal; and that its blackness is not due to the "eremacausis," which it has been exposed to for so many hundreds of years. If, however, such matter be in masses of considerable size, which possess on fracture the peculiar lustre of charcoal, and if it have not been impregnated with any salt of iron or other mineral so as to have been preserved by such impregnation from the decay which would otherwise have befallen it, we are justified in considering it exceedingly probable that it was put into the grave in the condition either of yet burn-

Gaudentius, and Faustus the Manichee, may all be found deposing to the fact of the funeral feast being abused by the Christians into an occasion of great licence. I do not happen to have met with any evidence to show that food or drink was put into the graves of the *early* Christians from any influence which any pre-Christian belief may have had upon them as to its possibly being of some use to the departed in the new world. This superstition was of course operative in the case of heathens, and amongst certain of the Scandinavian races (see Lubbock's *Prehistoric Times*, p. 89) it has lasted even down to our own times. Weinhold tells us (*Altnordisches Leben*, p. 493) that the tobacco-pipe, pocket-knife, and filled brandy flask were placed in Swedish graves (it is to be supposed only in remote districts), if not up to the present time, at all events up to the beginning of the present generation. Heathen customs, however, and customs as markedly heathen as cremation, retained their vitality to a very late period in the Baltic regions. (See for this Grimm, *loc. cit.*; Wylie, *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 467; and Lindenschmit, *Alterth. heidnisch. Vorzeit*, heft ii. bd. ii. ad taf. vi., for long persistence of heathen customs amongst the Alemanni. See also Wylie, *Graves of Alemanni*.)

* For the interment of favourite animals with their masters, see Von Sacken, *Heidnisches Alterthum*, 1865, p. 155; Weinhold, *Sitzungsberichte Phil. Hist. Klass. Akad. Wien*, bd. 29, p. 203, 1859. The bones of a large dog were found at Long Wittenham in a Romano-British interment so near to certain human remains as to make it seem possible that the animal had been purposely so placed. For the burial of the horse (*Das Trauer-Pferd*) in Teutonic graves, and those of other races, see Keysler, *Antiq. Select.*, 1720, p. 168; Wylie, *Graves of the Alemanni*; *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvi. *ibique citata*; Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 298. For the suspension of the skull of the horse over graves, see *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 23. For the practice of eating horse-flesh, see *Confessional of Archbishop Ecgbert*, c. 38; the Decrees of Council held A.D. 785, under the presidency of Gregory, Bishop of Ostia; and *Penitential of Theodore*, c. xxx. s. 17. See also Lubbock, *Prehistoric Times*, p. 115, and Keysler, *l. c.* p. 322, 340. Pearson, *History of England*, i. 138.

See 15. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

ing embers, or of charcoal. The test mentioned by the Abbé Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 198 ed. i. (p. 229 ed. ii.), for differentiating charcoal from decayed wood, viz. that the latter gives a sherry colour on boiling with potash, is a little unsatisfactory, inasmuch as the purest charcoal would give a similar reaction after being surcharged and sopped through and through for ages with water, more or less laden, *ex hypothesi*, with impurities. Without losing sight of the possibility that blackened woody matter may be the remnants of a coffin, it is well to consider the different explanations which may be given of the presence of true charcoal in an interment. Four such have been given, two of which refer the practice to the operation of Christian beliefs; the third refers it to the working of feelings which are neither distinctly Christian nor yet distinctly heathen; whilst the fourth explanation is applicable to heathen interments only. The two first explanations may be expressed in two separate utterances of Durandus, the first being the often quoted one, vii. c. 35, as to the placing of embers and incense, *prunæ cum thure*, in the grave; and the second, a few lines further on, speaking of a Christian practice of placing charcoal in the grave to serve there as an imperishable protest against using the soil of the grave thereafter for secular purposes, "in testimonium quod terra illa in communes usus amplius redigi non potest; plus enim durat carbo sub terra quam aliud." The third of the four explanations refers the presence of charcoal in the graves to the holding of feasts by their side in replacement of the pagan sacrifices of former times. The fourth explanation refers us to the overt and recognized performance, or to the stealthy continuance of the eminently heathen practice of burning the body or of lighting a fire in the grave to prepare it for the reception of the corpse. Any one or all of the three first explanations are admissible in the case of the Romano-Britons; the fourth may very probably apply to the interments of the half-converted or apostatising Anglo-Saxons, to whose history we shall return.*

We are, from our recollections of the classical allusions to the *naulus* or *poritorium*, strongly tempted to think that the placing of coins upon the corpse must have been a distinctively heathen practice. A curious passage which I came upon in Martene's great work (*De antiquis ecclesiæ ritibus*, ii. 374) has caused

* For the discovery of carbonaceous matter in graves, see Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine*, ed. i. pp. 198, 255, 256, 304; Kemble, *Horæ Ferales*, pp. 98, 104; Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 29; *Graves of Alemanni*, p. 13; Schaafhausen, *Germanische Grabstätten am Rhein*, 1868, p. 104; Walder, *Anzeiger für Schweiz. Alterthum*, March 1869, p. 32. For the discovery of fragments of charcoal scattered throughout the entire mass of heathen tumuli, see Keller, *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, bd. iii. p. 66. For the use of charcoal as being imperishable see Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, xxi. 4.

me to attach importance to the fact that, in two of the interments I have examined here, the number of the coins interred was five. One of these interments was the first of the two in leaden coffins described already, and the other was an interment of the class of which I am now writing, and will be found in the appended catalogue under the number xxiv. of Feb. 21, 1868. Martene's words are, "Addit anonymus Turonensis:—Quidam sortilegi contra fidem agentes ponunt *quinque solidos* super pectus mortui, et in hoc imitantur morem gentilium qui in ore mortui ponebant denarium 'ut habeat quem porrigat ore trientem.'" I am not aware of any explanation having been offered for the selection of *five* as the number of the coins which the *gentiles*, or those who imitated them, placed in the grave. But such a passage as the one just quoted does not, even when taken by itself, justify us in considering an interment with coins to have been always an interment without the rites of the Christian church. Many persons act *contra fidem* and *imitantur morem gentilium*, whom, for historical purposes at least, we must consider to be Christians. As probably in the case of placing of charcoal in the grave, so, certainly, in that of the placing of coins there, the Church exercised a wise toleration, protesting, it may be, more or less directly, by the introduction of such sentences as those which our burial service contains, against the thought that we can take anything with us out of the world, but acquiescing in the actual repetition and continuance of the custom. Just as the custom of placing earthen vessels in tombs has survived down almost to our own time in remote districts such as La Bresse and Morvan in France (see Cochet, *Archéologie Céramique*, p. 1, 1860), so that of placing coins on the mouth and chest of the corpse is persisted even to the present day in parts of the country similarly remote from the great centres of life. The fact, however, that money to the amount of no less than three hundred pieces of Roman coinage was placed in the tomb of Childeric is more conclusive than any mere speculation from the analogies furnished by ancient or modern times. A kindly instinct induced persons, who probably enough had never heard of Charon, to bury with their deceased friend or relative that which they knew him or her to have valued most, and the presence of coin in a grave may convey thus to us a satire upon the departed, which it was never intended to hint at. The Abbé Cochet seems to me to lay too much stress upon "la coutume Chrétienne de rendre à la terre les hommes nus comme ils y sont entrés." For this principle would have prevented the burial with ornaments,^b of which, however, we are

^a *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 194. See also Keysler, *Antiq. Select.* p. 174.

^b See also the account of the plundering of the gorgeously-arrayed corpse of Pope Adrian I. in Mabillon,

told in the *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, ii. 852 (cf. also p. 701), "Mos ille in vulgo obsoletus in funeribus episcoporum et presbyterorum retinetur."

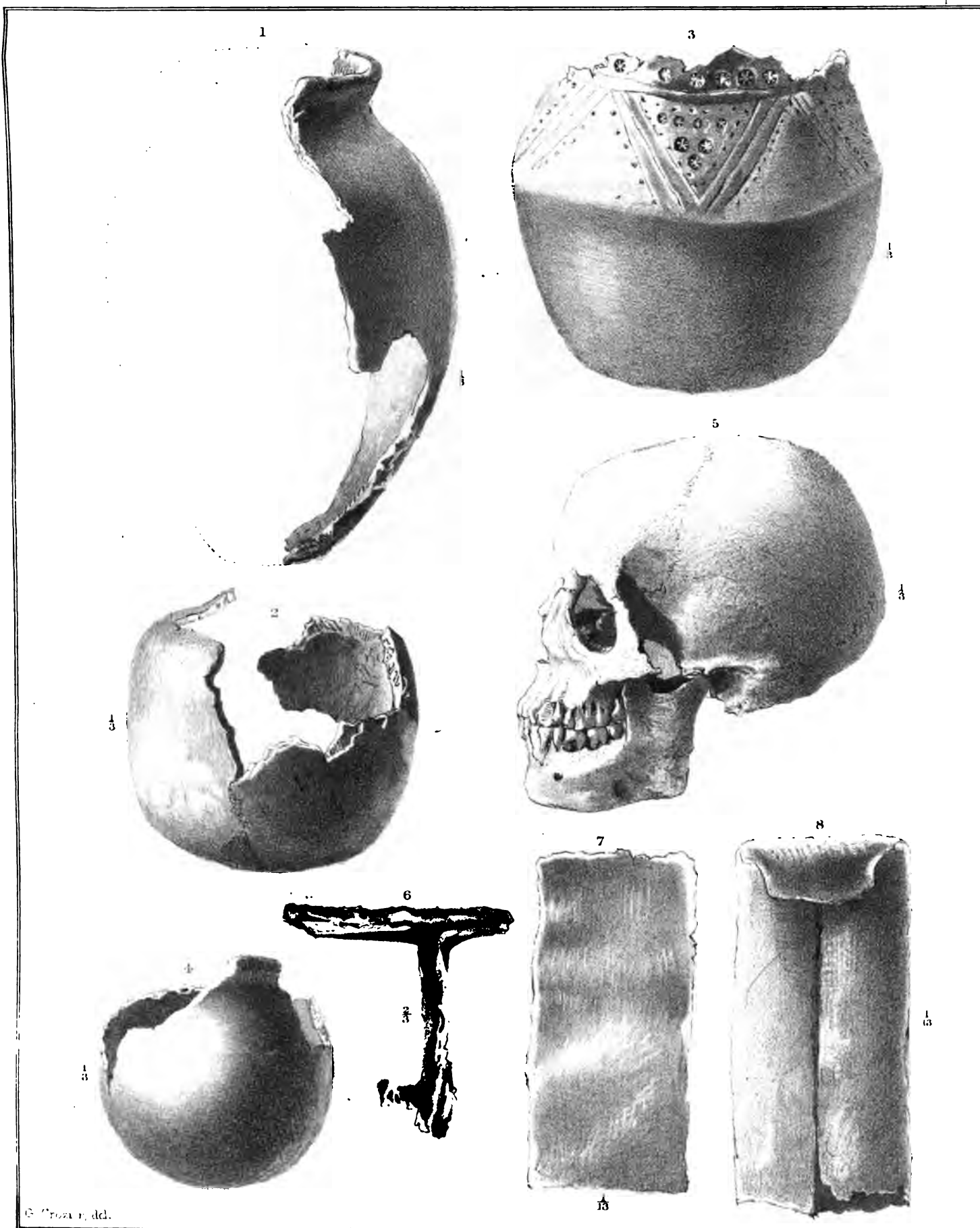
In many of these semi-oriented graves nails with woody fibre still adhering to them were found, and from their presence, as also from that of a piece of coffin-hooping (see Plate XXIV. fig. 6, and Dr. Thurnam, *Catalogue, Osteological Series, Royal College of Surgeons*, ii. 881, 5712) in one of these graves, we may argue with considerable probability for the employment of coffins in some, at least, of these interments. The custom of throwing shards, and flints, and pebbles into the grave is common both to Romano-British and to Anglo-Saxon interments in England. That it was pagan and even of very early origin seems probable, and that it persisted into Christian periods is pretty certain. Shakespeare's well-known lines* (Hamlet v. 1) show, however, that its pagan origin had somehow or other so strongly impressed itself upon the public mind that it was no longer practised in Christian burials. They show also that the presence of these shards cannot be explained as being due to accident. Indeed, upon several occasions, I have found fragments of pottery in such relations to the bones of skeletons, in company with which nails were found, as to make it seem highly probable that the shard, when thrown in, must have clanked upon the boards of the coffin, which the nails show us was present there. The thought that our own custom of throwing earth into the grave during the burial service may be connected with this custom, and again, that both may be connected with the classical custom referred to in Horace's line, "Injecto ter pulvere curras," and also Virgil, *Æneid*, vi. 365, and in Sophocles *Antigone*, 256, λεπτή δ' ἄγος φεύγοντος ὥς ἐπὶ κούρῃς, will at once suggest itself; but only to be dismissed on mature consideration; for to the modern antiquary it is no paradox to say that the custom of throwing in shards was probably much older than that of scattering earth over the corpse; and I would suggest, as it is very likely others may have done before me, that the throwing in of the broken pottery may be the perfunctory representation of the deposition in the grave of the entire vase, and that the throwing of earth, for which Archytas and Palinurus begged, may in like manner represent

Museum Italicum, i. 41; Gretzet, *De Funere Christiano*, i. 28; Chrysostom, *Hom.* 84; Guichard, *Funeraillies*, 1581, p. 581, where the Council of Auxerre is said to have condemned "toutes ces bobances."

* Douglas, in his *Nenia*, appears to be the first person who drew attention to the lines of Shakespeare, referred to, see p. 10, and also p. 34. For other references to the custom, see Keller, *l.c.* p. 65; Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 25; Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, introd. p. xvii.; Weinhold, *Sitzungsberichte Kais. Akad. Wiss. Wien. Hist. Phil. Klasse*, 1858, bd. 29, hft. i. p. 166. Fried. Simony, *Die Alterthümer vom Halstatter Salzberg*, *Sitzungsberichte Kais. Akad. Wiss. Wien. Hist. Phil. Klasse*, 1851, p. 7; Keysler, *l.c.* p. 106. Rev. G. R. Hall, *Nat. Hist. Trans. Northumberland and Durham*, i. 2, 1866, p. 167. *Notes on the*

Inhabitants of Scandinavia, ed. by J. Lubbock. 1868. p. 214.

In discovery of chipped flint in
Frankish graves in
Zeitschrift für Ethnologie iv. 6. 72
p. 290.



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ANTIQUITIES FROM AN ANCIENT CEMETERY AT FRILFORD. (II)

Vol. XLII

the toilsome but unattempted process of inhumation.* Massillon, long before prehistoric archæology had been thought of, argued for the conclusion that a belief in a future state is a naturally implanted conviction from the fact that "nulle part vous n'en rencontrerez des peuples sans sépultures et sans vases," and the Abbé Cochet, in his *Archéologie Céramique*, p. 1, says that the custom of placing earthen vessels in tombs is one of the most ancient of all customs, and, as just noticed, that it still exists in secluded and remote parts of France, as in Morvan and La Bresse. This coexistence with the custom of our modern burials seems to disprove any interdependence of the two practices. Again, the fact that † fragments of pottery were used in interments by cremation, as well as in interments by inhumation, seems to show that the shard and the handful of earth were not set in motion by the same impulses. In very early times earthen vessels were of great value, and it was in those days a proof of at least as great affection to bury or throw on to the funeral pile an earthen vessel as it was in after ages to burn his gorgeous insignia with Pompey.† I take this opportunity of quoting a passage from a curious work, the only one of very many old books which I have looked through in the Bodleian and elsewhere for some passage parallel to the one quoted so often from *Hamlet* in which I have found one. This book is entitled *Funus Parasiticum, sive L. Biberii Curculionis Parasiti Mortualium, Ad ritum prisce Funeris*, Auctore Nicolao Regultio, Lubecæ, MDCXXXVII. In describing the imaginary funeral of the parasite whom he is satirising, the author uses the following words: "Cum quisque certatim in rogam dona cumulat, et partim trullas, cantharos, lances, alii struices patinarias, cyathos, ciboria coquinaria, omnia flammæ committunt." It is obvious, of course, that the author may be representing the throwing in of these articles as being the most natural thing to do at the funeral of a glutton, as they had been his *instrumenta artis*; and *Peniculus*, it may be recollected, in the *Menæchmi* of Plautus, i. l. 25, speaks in terms of unctuous affection of his hosts' *struices patinarias*—the very words employed by Regultius. Still I am inclined to think that Regultius may have had some recollection, or at least some tradition, of the custom considered as so distinctively

* For the tendency of customs involving expense to assume cheaper forms, see Sir John Lubbock, *Nat. Hist. Rev.* Oct. 1861, p. 801; *Prehistoric Times*, p. 98, ed. i. p. 142, ed. ii.

† See *Lucan.* ix. 175.

‡ Since writing as above I have met with the following passage in Keyser's *Antiquitates Selectæ*, p. 173. "Inde Nimischæ, in pago uno miliari a Gubena distante universus apparatus culinaris erutus, cacabi, ollæ, catini, phialæ, patinæ, urceoli, lagenulæ, testante D. Christiani Stieffii *Epistola*." This *Epistola* was published in 4to. in 1704, and treats of "Lignicenses atque Pilgramsdorfenses urnas." See Keyser *loc. cit.* p. 113.

‡ This is not so. Earth was thrown upon the urn containing the burnt Brahmin. In Max Müller's *Die Fellebratting bei den Brahmanen* 1855. p. xviii. The rules thus given are of 4th Cent. B.C. The hymns 1200 B.C. When the urn containing the bones is put into the grave earth is thrown upon it with the following verses from the *Rig Veda* x. 18. 11

Erheb dich Erde! Ihn' ich nicht, zu diene
Empfang ihn freundl'ich und mit liebem Gmuth
Umhüll' ihn, Erde, wie den Sohn
Die Hüter hüllt in ihr Gewand.
so K. u. D. d. 2 22. Mani ohnivato malis.

heathen by the priest in *Hamlet* when he introduced this particular feature with so much iteration into his burlesque *ad ritum prisci funeris*. Writing at Lubeck, he may well have been familiar with the Baltic provinces further eastward, which the Teutonic knights had so much difficulty in civilising and Christianising.

Roots of plants had twined themselves about and around the bones contained in these graves, and the minute mollusc^b *Achatina acicula* was found inside the skulls in such abundance as to make it very evident that air and moisture had very free access even to the bottom of these graves, and consequently we should not be justified in arguing from the want now in many of these graves of any traces of such perishable materials as the wood and metal-work of a coffin, to the conclusion that no coffin had been put into them 1,400 years ago. The wonder, indeed, is not so much that such substances should in some instances and in such circumstances have vanished, as that they should in any have persisted to the present day. Still I am inclined to think that evidence is not wanting to show that in some cases the Romano-Britons, like other races in ancient, mediæval, and modern times, interred their dead sometimes with, sometimes without, coffins. This evidence lies mainly in the fact that in some cases a large stone has been found so near the head as to render it difficult to think any coffin, however thin its walls, can have been interposed between the stone and the body. (See Catalogue, xv^s, Sept. 26, 1868; xvii^s, Sept. 26, 1868.) But even in these interments, where coffins may not have been employed, and which consequently so far resemble the Anglo-Saxon burials by inhumation shortly to be described, three important and easily recognisable differentiating peculiarities are present. First, stones do not appear to have been placed by the Romano-Britons under the head of the corpse, as they were placed in Anglo-Saxon interments, and consequently we do not find in the former, as we do in the latter so very commonly, the cervical vertebræ impacted along the base of the skull from the occipital foramen up to the symphysis of the jaw. Neither do the Romano-Britons, at least at Frilford, appear to have set stones along the sides of their graves, as the Anglo-Saxons did. Thirdly the Romano-British graves, when recognised as such, in contradistinction to the Anglo-Saxon interments, by the help of these external peculiarities, are found to contrast with them in a point of even greater as it is of more intrinsic interest, viz., in the very large proportion of aged skeletons which they contain. The male Anglo-Saxon skeletons are invariably, or all but in-

^a See Wylie, *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 467.

^b See Schaafhausen, *Die Germanische Grabstätten am Rhein*, p. 125; and *Collectanea Antiqua* (vi. 201), a work with which I was not acquainted when I wrote, as above, for account of a Cemetery at Kempston.

variably, the skeletons of young men: quite the reverse is the case with the Romano-British. To this point, as resting upon anatomical evidence, I shall have to revert in the second part of my paper; it is sufficient here to say that the difference is just what would be observed now between the cemetery of a settled civilized Christian village and that of an outlying station on the border-land between some gradually advancing empire, and the territories of some gradually receding but intermittently aggressive aborigines.

III. *Of the Anglo-Saxon Interments in the way of Cremation.*

Ten urns containing burnt bones have come into my hands during the excavations carried on at Frilford. Of these two were patterned urns, and the rest plain. A fairly perfect patterned vessel from this cemetery is to be seen in the British Museum, and two patterned fragments have been recovered by me and have been figured in Plate XXIII. figs. 2 and 3. These three latter vessels I incline to think, on account of their size, may have been holy-water vessels rather than cremation urns. The pattern upon them, as well as that upon the patterned urns which were found with burnt bones inside them, is the pattern now so familiar to us as the Anglo-Saxon pattern, from the memoirs of Kemble, Akerman, the Honorable R. C. Neville and others; and the general style and conformation of all the urns patterned and plain alike is not much less plainly referable to the same type. Neither class of urns has been lathe-turned; in none of them is the bottom perfectly flat; they are all of a darkish colour, and, though this colour may occasionally have a tawny streaking intermingled with it, it has usually been protected from reddening by the intermixture of vegetable matter with the paste. The figured urns possess the vandykes, the punched stellate or multiradiate stamps, the circular thumb-made depressions, the encircling zones scored with a pointed stick, and the "characteristic bumps," so fully and accurately described by Mr. Kemble in the *Horæ Ferales*, pp. 87 and 222, as distinguishing Anglo-Saxon urns found in England as well as urns found in the North-German fatherland.*

The Frilford urns are, with the exception of those found at Long Wittenham, the first urns of Anglo-Saxon manufacture which I have seen recorded as

I had forgotten Long Wittenham!

* See also for figures of urns resembling those found at Frilford; Engelhardt, *Denmark in the Iron Age*, English translation, 1866, p. 9; Urn from Smedeby, Slesvig; Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, Introd. p. xxviii. and pl. iv.; *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. pl. 20, fig. 1.; Hon. R. C. Neville, *Saxon Obsequies*, pls. 24-33; Bloxam's *Fragmenta Sepulchralia*, p. 59; Roach Smith, *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, introd. p. xv. For the discovery of a bone-punch for stamping ornaments, see Schaafhausen, *Die Germanische Grabstätten am Rhein*, p. 139, 1868.

found in Berkshire. Mr. Wylie^a has put on record similar "finds" from some thirteen English counties, to wit, Warwickshire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Northamptonshire, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and the Isle of Wight. The *Horæ Ferales*, p. 229, enable us to add a fourteenth county, Sussex, to this list. An urn, which I have by the kindness of the authorities of Queen's College, Oxford, been allowed to figure, and which a short note in the catalogue existing in their magnificent library may be taken as localizing with some probability to Faversham, in Kent, gives us this county,^b in which cremation like the paganism with which it was correlated was earlier superseded than elsewhere by Christianity, as a fifteenth in which Anglo-Saxons established themselves whilst still heathens. Berkshire makes the tale up to sixteen. When we consider how distinctively Christianity opposed^c itself to the practice of cremation, every fresh discovery of these distinctively Anglo-Saxon urns shows us how thoroughly overrun our England was by the "heathen of the Northern sea"^d in the period which elapsed between the landings

^a *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 473.

^b For the rarity of the discovery of cremation urns, at least in an unbroken, undisturbed condition, in Kent, see *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, xv. xlv. 184, 186; *British Assoc. Report*, 1855, p. 146; and Mr. Wylie, *loc. cit.* The Queen's College urn I have figured, Plate XXV. fig. 1. Its Anglo-Saxon origin is indubitable. The evidence for its coming from Kent amounts only to probability, and stands thus: in Queen's College Library there is a "List of the Collection of Egyptian, Etruscan, Greek, Roman, British, and other Antiquities, formed by the late Rev. Robert Mason, D.D. from the collections of Messrs. Belzoni, Salt, Burton, Millingen, and others, 1822 to 1839." In this catalogue there is the following entry: "Sepulchral urns, a large and small, 2." On the smaller of these two urns, which, however, is of Roman manufacture, there is a ticket, "Found at Faversham, Kent." The exteriors of the two urns have much the same colouration or discolouration, which makes it seem likely that they came from the same excavation, and were, consequently, as we now find them, catalogued and placed together.

^c For the opposition of the Christians to the practice of cremation, see Neander's *Life of Julian*, English translation, p. 108; *Ibid.* *Minucius Felix*, cit. p. 45; *Acta Martyrum*, Baron, ii. p. 290, Martyrdom of S. Tharacus; Tertullian, cit. Grimm, Berlin Abhand. 1849, p. 207; *Ep. Ecc. Vienn. et Lugduni*, fn. *Euseb.* H. E. v. 1, cit. Pusey, *Minor Prophets*, Amos, vi. 10; Charlemagne, *Capit. ad Saxon.* 789, A.D. cit. Fleury, *Ecc. Hist.* i. 44, 45; Gruber, *Origines Livoniæ*, cit. Wylie, *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 467; Kemble, *Horæ Ferales*, p. 95; Schaafhausen, *Germanische Grabstätten am Rheine*, p. 90; *Jahrbuch des Vereines von Alterthums-freunden im Rheinlande*, Bonn, 1868.

^d Literary evidence for the numbers of the Saxons is furnished by such expressions as those which Claudian puts into the mouth of a personified Britannia,

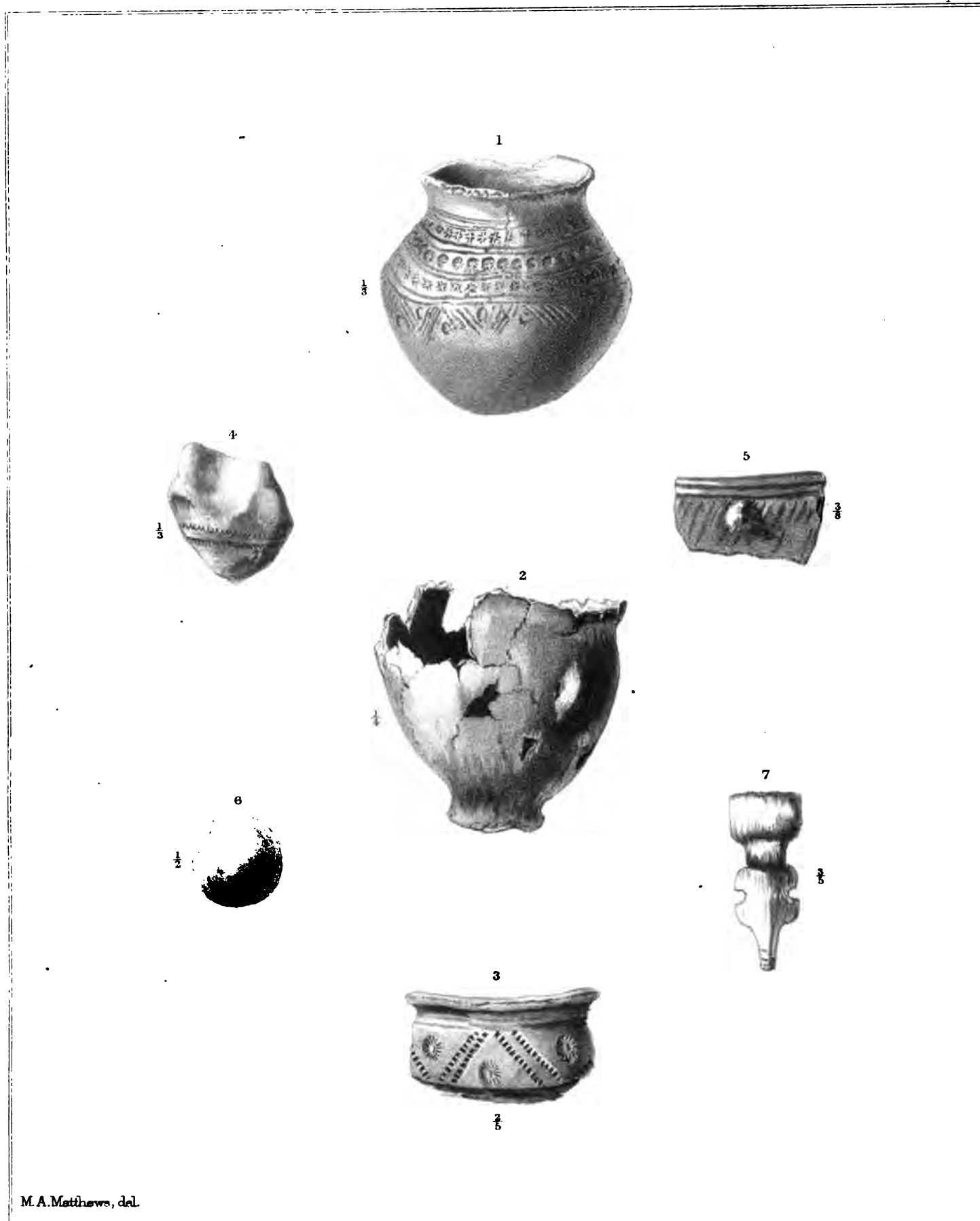
"Ne litore toto

Prospicerem dubiis venientem Saxona ventis."—*Laus Stilichonis*, xxii. 254.

Evidence for the sudden and continual vexations to which Britain and other regions were subjected by the Saxons may be found in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, xxvi. 4; xxviii. 2.

Put in Horæ Ferales p. 90.

on p. 100
(1855)



M.A. Matthews, del.

ANTIQUITIES FROM AN ANCIENT CEMETERY AT FRILFORD. (III)

Published by the Society of Antiquaries of London. 1871

in it of Hengist and that of Augustine. The legend which makes Hengist land in Thanet and be buried at Conisborough, in South Yorkshire, tells obviously in the same direction, but it is always well to strengthen a conclusion based on the interpretation of such a history as this by evidence drawn from actual, tangible, and verifiable facts. And it is worth while, consequently, to put on record here certain "finds" of Anglo-Saxon urns which have been made subsequently to, or, for other reasons, have not been enumerated among those already referred to. In the year 1859 five urns of the Anglo-Saxon type, which are now to be seen in the museum of the Philosophical Society in York, were found by F. W. Calvert, Esq., in his garden, which is about half-a-mile outside of Micklegate Bar on the right side of the road from York to Tadcaster. Several Roman urns and sarcophagi were found at the same time and place, the Anglo-Saxons having in this, as in so many other Roman stations, used the cemeteries of their predecessors. An urn with an inscription, which I have not seen, was found at the same time. Five other undoubtedly Anglo-Saxon urns are mentioned in *The Descriptive Account of the Antiquities* of this Museum, (p. 95, n. 34) as being found in tumuli on the Wolds. An urn* as indubitably Anglo-Saxon has been discovered at Kempston, in Bedfordshire, for a sight of which I am indebted to the kindness of Canon Greenwell of Durham. Lastly, in the "Illustrated London News" of Jan. 25, 1868, Supplement, p. 93, some excellent figures of several urns found by Dr. Massey of Melbourne, at King's Newton in Derbyshire, may be seen; and though I have not as yet had an opportunity of personally examining these specimens, I apprehend they will be recognised as belonging to the same class as the North German urns of the *Horæ Ferales*; the South Jutland or Slesvig urns figured by Engelhardt, *loc. cit.* and pl. 14 and 17; and those from the sixteen English counties above enumerated. If, as Mr. Kemble has said, "wherever Christianity set foot cremation was to cease,"^b we may be doubly sure that wheresoever cremation was practised in a country which had been previously Christian, Christianity had for the time become extinct. Of the coexistence *in place* of cremation-urns and of skeletons inhumed entire there is no doubt; and, as many authorities seem convinced that the two practices coexisted also *in time*,^c I should be slow to set against their opinion the fact of

*See also "Reliquary" July.
1868.*

* See *Collectanea Antiqua*, iv. 161, vi. 166, vi. 201, *seqq.*

^b *Horæ Ferales*, p. 95.

^c For the coexistence of cremation with inhumation: see Kemble, *Horæ Ferales*, p. 918; Neville's *Saxon Obsequies*, p. 11; Wylie, *Archæologia*, xxxvii. p. 456; Akerman, *Further Researches at Brighton*, *Archæologia*, xxxviii.; *Inventorium Sepulchræ*, pp. 165, 195; Weinhold, *Sitzungsberichte Kais. Akad. Hist. Phil. Klasse*, bd. 29, p. 138, bd. 30, p. 176; Lindenschmit, *Archiv Anth.* iii. 114.

the strong feeling which the Christians entertained as to the impiety of cremation. For I read in the passages just referred to, and can believe, that a practice was not always nor immediately discontinued because it was denounced. Still, at Frilford, though in three cases urns were found above Romano-British inhumations, in no case had I any reason to think that one part of the population on this area was practising the one, at the same time that another was practising the other, of these two modes of sepulture. If it should be allowed—in dangerous opposition, it is true, to Mr. Kemble's dictum that no pagan Saxon was buried except when burnt,*—that the Anglo-Saxon inhumations, shortly to be described as without orientation and with relics, may have been the burials of pagans, I should be more inclined to think that the two rites may have been practised contemporaneously, as we know them to have been by several heathen nations. To the heathen the two modes of sepulture were comparatively indifferent, and very slight reasons may have determined his choice of the one or the other. With the Christian it was different, and abstinence from cremation was made to seem a corollary of some of the most sacred and cherished articles of his faith. Hence I am not disposed to think that the conquered Romano-Britons would continue to use the cemetery of their forefathers when it was constantly being, as they would think, desecrated by the deposition in it of the urns of the unbelievers. The Saxons, on the other hand, as already remarked, had no reluctance against burying in the ground which held the bones of the former lords of the soil, and as the position of several of the urns show —

“ Little they recked of those stout limbs
Which mouldered there below.”

I should add that it is possible that half-converted Saxons may have relapsed into cremation in the absence of the missionary, and under the temptation which the licence of the “lyke-wake” created. But the practice of such a transitional period, if it ever existed, would not affect the historical argument for the overrunning of this country by heathens, which the discovery of these urns in so many parts of it furnishes.

In Plate XXV. fig. 3, a representation is given of a piece of Samian ware found in the Roman rubbish-pit already mentioned as having been discovered within about 200 yards of the cemetery. The resemblance of its pattern to that on the Anglo-Saxon urns is very striking, though the execution and finish are as different as is the material. A pattern of vandykes, scored zones, and stellate impressions,

* *Horæ Ferales*, p. 98 ; and, *per contra*, the Rev. S. Finch, *Coll. Antiq.* vi. 220, and Thrupp, *Anglo-Saxon Home*, p. 399.

is one which, by its simplicity, would suggest itself to the rudest nations, and I do not, of course, mean to hint that the urns found here by me were figured after the pattern of Roman ware found here by the Anglo-Saxons. Still the similarity of the two patterns is very striking, and when we consider that urns with Latin inscriptions and Roman manufacture have been found with Anglo-Saxon patterns upon them,^a it is less difficult to imagine that the Teutonic races, years before the period we are dealing with, and while yet in their North German native country, imitated with a stick on coarse hand-fashioned clay-paste the very simple but still beautiful pattern which the Gallo-Romans imprinted on finer and lathe-turned materials. Another illustration would thus be furnished of the extreme readiness already alluded to with which the Germanic natives imitated the arts and refinements of the Romans.

Burnt human bones have been here and there met with without any urn in relation with them, but within my experience at Frilford they have been merely scattered or even single bones, the presence of which may be explained by the disinterment of an urn, and the subsequent replacing of its fragments and its contents with less care than was sometimes bestowed upon this task.^b

In none of the urns were any other contents than human bones mingled with earth and stones discovered, except in the case of the urn found Sept. 1867, in which a few pieces of glass were found together with the bones, and in that of the small unpatterned urn found January, 1867, in which the incisor of a hare or rabbit was also found in company with the human remains, and like them had been subjected to the fire.

The urns were in most instances at but a very short distance from the surface of the ground, and, shallow as the furrows are (some five inches or so) which it is usual to make in this soil, the upper rims of the urns have in several instances received injury from the plough-share. This superficial position of cremation urns enables us to understand how the many superstitions^c as to their pullulation in the spring, &c., arose, and it is paralleled, we may remark, by the shallowness of the inhumations of the same race, to the consideration of which I now proceed.

^a See Roach Smith, British Association Report for 1855, p. 145, and the same writer's *Collectanea Antiqua*, v. 115, pl. x. where such an urn, bearing the inscription D.M. LAELIAE RUFINAE VIXIT A.III M.III.D.VII. is figured.

^b See *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, introd. p. xvi. pp. 8, 9, 12, 17, 18, 19, 40, 156, 159, 175.

^c For the belief as to urns being "natural productions pullulating from the earth like bulbous roots," see *Horæ Ferales*, p. 86. For other superstitions relating to them, see Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 124; Wylie, *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 46.

IV. *Of Anglo-Saxon Interments in the way of inhumation without orientation, but with insignia and in shallow graves.*

The Anglo-Saxons appear to have discontinued cremation, probably at the urgent request of the Christian missionaries, without at the same time adopting the direction of the grave which the usage of their teachers, as well as of their predecessors, would have led them to adopt. The shallowness^a of many graves containing skeletons extended at full length, and adorned with Anglo-Saxon insignia, may again be referred to the retention by half-converted proselytes of some of that carelessness as to the disposal of the corpse which marked many heathen races then, as, indeed, it does now. The now well-known insignia of the male and female Anglo-Saxon respectively—to wit, the umbo, the spear, the buckle, and the knife; the fibulæ, the perforated beads, the similarly perforated glass ornaments; the ear and tooth picks, the scoops, the shroud-pin, the perforated coins, and the knife, found both with women's and men's skeletons—have been found with several skeletons at Frilford, which were interred in graves varying in depth from eighteen up to twenty-seven and thirty inches, and varying still more in their compass bearings. In four of these cases, skeletons, which must be supposed to have been Romano-British, have been found to underlie these Anglo-Saxon remains, just as similarly inhumed skeletons have been already spoken of as underlying cremation urns. In one case a large fragment of a large unpatterned urn (which has been figured in Pl. XXIV. fig. 1, and resembles in style the urn found at Long Wittenham, containing human bones, and figured by Mr. Akerman, *Archæologia*, xxxviii. 352, pl. xx. fig. 4,) was discovered lying over the pelvis of an Anglo-Saxon woman, buried with disc-shaped fibulæ, beads, and shards. The fragment was itself in seven pieces when discovered; but, as they have admitted of readjustment, the fragment must have been put into the grave in the condition which it is in as now restored, in accordance with the custom of carefully replacing the fragments of a disturbed funeral urn, which has been several times noted in other Saxon burials.^b In another of these interments some Roman tiling was found set along the side of the grave, a practice which other Teutonic tribes, in their imitation of the Roman civilisation, adopted, as has

^a For the shallowness of Anglo-Saxon and other Teutonic interments, see Cochet, *Tombeau de Childeric*, p. 41; Bloxam, *Fragmenta Sepulchralia*, p. 47; Englehardt, *Denmark in the Early Iron Age*, p. 9; Akerman, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii., *Long Wittenham*; Kemble, *ibid.* vol. xxxvii. 1856; Wanner, *Alemannische Todtenfeld bei Schleithelm*, pp. 10, 20.

^b See *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, introd. p. xvi. &c.

been observed by Wanner.* In another, a spear-head (Plate XXIII. fig. 7) with the raised ridge, which Mr. Akerman (*Pagan Saxondom*, p. x.) has observed is to be seen on the assagaye of the modern Hottentot, was found accompanying a skeleton, the sex and nationality of which were spoken to by the presence of an umbo and a buckle,^b as well as by its osteological characters. Fibulæ were not found with the male skeletons; with the female skeletons the common disc-shaped fibulæ were the most usual. In one case, however, the cruciform variety, such as Mr. Akerman has figured (*Archæologia*, xxxix. pl. xi. figs. 8, 9) from Long Wittenham, or (*Pagan Saxondom*, pl. xviii. fig. 1) from the neighbourhood of Rugby, was exemplified in two fibulæ (Plate XXV. figs. 6 and 7) found with a female skeleton, which was accompanied also by the earpick and toothpick and scoop so frequently found in Anglo-Saxon interments.^c No sword has as yet been found in the cemetery at Frilford, and the general character of the Anglo-Saxon relics which have been discovered is in keeping with the absence of this mark of condition and authority, if such^d it may be considered to be. In one case a male skeleton was reported to me to have been found lying in one of these shallow graves with its face downwards. Unfortunately I was not upon the spot when this skeleton was removed; but, though Schaafhausen^e has pointed out that unskilled observers may be deceived as to the position of the face in a grave, I am nevertheless of opinion that the workman who had assisted in the removal of a very large number of skeletons from their graves was right in the report he made to me. Because, in the first place, I have myself seen an instance of such a mode of interment in a Romano-British barrow; and, secondly, it is not difficult to understand how such a misplacement could occur with an uncoffined body borne to a grave, the shallowness of which bore, and bears, evidence to a carelessness which the "lyke-wake" would be only too likely to intensify. It has often been observed^f that the Anglo-Saxons by no means

* *Das Alemannische Todtenfeld bei Schleithelm*, p. 13. See also Lindenschmit, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, ii. 3, p. 356.

^b For the indications which the presence of a buckle furnishes as to nationality, see Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 58; Cochet, *Tombeau de Childeric*, pp. 228, 234.

^c See *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 70, and pl. xxxv. fig. 4; *Archæologia*, vol. xxxvii. *Brighthampton* No. 1; vol. xxxviii. *Brighthampton* No. 16, preserved in Ashmolean Museum, Oxford; *Fairford Graves*, pl. ix. fig. 10, object similarly preserved.

^d See Akerman, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix. "Further researches at Long Wittenham."

^e *Die Germanische Grabstätten am Rhein*, p. 119.

^f Wylie, *Graves of Alemanni*, p. 13; Bloxam, *Fragmenta Sepulchralia*, pp. 67, 72; Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, introd. p. xvi. Compare plate xiv. with plates xxxix. lvii. lxii. and lxvi. of Strutt's *Horda Angel-cynnan*.

Researches at Long Wittenham
p. 14.

Then into my as fibulae
men with two. Tombeau de
Childeric. p. 228.

invariably employed coffins in their interments. When the head is found to have been supported upon stones placed underneath it, it is plain that the interment must have been coffinless. But I do not find in my notes of the class of shallow, non-oriented, Anglo-Saxon interments that the head had been so supported; and, inasmuch as the results of its having been so raised are ordinarily very evident, the cervical vertebræ being impacted between the *rami* of the lower jaw, and this bone being, not rarely, separated widely from the upper jaw, owing to the changes of position which the perishing of the soft parts has entailed,—it is difficult to think that this peculiar arrangement would have been left unnoticed if it had existed. A nail has occasionally been found in a grave containing an Anglo-Saxon skeleton, but I have never come upon nails in such numbers as to make me think it probable that they had come there otherwise than accidentally, nor have I ever found in such interments that all but infallible sign of a coffin having been employed, namely, coffin-hooping. The shallow Anglo-Saxon graves do not appear to have had stones set round their edges; and the absence of such stones is another, and complementary, illustration of the carelessness which appears to have characterised the performance of these burials. Wherever stones have been found set round a grave, the grave has had the semioriented bearings of the Romano-British interments, and has all but universally the same depth as these graves, and may hence be considered to belong to a distinct era of inhumation.

V. *Of Anglo-Saxon Interments in the way of inhumation in graves of the same compass-bearings, and usually of the same depth, as the Romano-British graves, but differing from them in having stones set along the edges of the grave, and in containing insignia together with the skeletons.*

I have not at Frilford come upon a grave with stones set round its edges which had not the Romano-British direction towards E.S.E., and which did not contain a skeleton with the insignia of the Anglo-Saxon race. Following the Romano-British direction, these interments have followed the same precedent ordinarily as to depth also, and the like, it may be noted, has been observed by Wanner of the Alamannian interments at Schleithem.* The closeness of the stones to the sides, head, and feet of the skeleton seems to preclude the notion of coffins having been employed in these interments, and the fact that the sides of these stones, which looked towards the skeleton, were in some cases reddened in a way in which actual

* *Das Alamannische Todtenfeld bei Schleithem*, pp. 11, 18.

experiment shows that similar stones of the neighbourhood do redden under the action of fire, makes it appear all but certain that the charcoal found in these graves around and even under the skeleton must have been produced by a fire lighted in the grave before, or indeed after, the corpse was put into it.* Mr. Kemble, in the passages already referred to,^b supposes that in the transition state from heathenism to Christianity, such practices as this may have been stealthily indulged in by the newly-made and only half-converted proselytes, and these interments lend a considerable confirmation to this view. The Abbé Cochet^c and Professor Schaafhausen^d seem to incline towards supposing that the similar appearances which they have noticed are to be ascribed to the remnants of a coffin, but I am inclined to think that the absence of nails, the raised position of the head observed in some of these burials, the large size of, and the retention of a certain brilliancy by, the fragments of carbonaceous matter found in these graves, and underneath as well as around the skeletons, as well as the conditions of reddening and of position which the stones present, are points militating very strongly against the hypothesis of a coffin having been present, and in favour of a wood fire having been lighted in the grave either in preparation for, or for the partial combustion of, the dead body. No coins were found in such relations with the head or chest of any of these skeletons as to make it seem likely that they had been put in as "portoria;" in one case, however, a coin was found perforated, for suspension, doubtless as an ornament, about the region of what had been the chest or waist of a very much water-worn skeleton. Shards and flints, and a few bones and teeth of domestic animals, were found in these as in other kinds of inhumation observed in this cemetery. In one of these interments a pair of odd fibulæ, one being of the cruciform, the other of the saucer or disc pattern, was found, one upon one shoulder and the other upon the other of a female skeleton. Similarly, or somewhat similarly, "two large cruciform and two circular fibulæ of bronze," now preserved in the York Museum, were found with a skeleton in the Danes Dale Tumulus.^e These discoveries may seem of trifling moment, but they do go to show, first,

* In a note from Professor Pearson to me, in which he gives much valuable information upon other points relating to the history of this country in the times with which I am concerned, he says, "The *Anglo-Saxon Laws*, vol. ii. contain several lists of superstitious practices which the Church condemns, such as burning corn upon graves. It is true that the compilations in which these ordinances occur are in one sense not authentic, that is, have been ascribed to wrong authors; but they probably represent the customary law of the church here and on the continent with tolerable fidelity."

^b *Horæ Ferales*, pp. 98-104.

^c *Opere cit.* pp. 198, 255, 256, 304.

^d *Opere cit.* p. 104.

^e See Catalogue, p. 93, and *Coll. Antiq.* vi. Pl. 28.

This last reference is to an interment at Chessell St. of light. The Danes Dale Tumulus is I think the same as the one described by Thurman "Fogon Scandinavum" Pl. viii p. 13.

raciform fibulæ found several
times at Angli's Burgh in
Further Researches pp. 546.
Vol. ii. p. 36 of *Anglo-Saxon*
where Pl. xliii is said to
show Middle Country Type.
In Type given in Plate 8 of *Sax*
an Obsequies is just Kt.
of Driffild & Sancton.

no xxi. Jan. 6.
1869.

that no pattern of fibulæ should be considered as peculiar to any one district, except provisionally; secondly, that a very considerable uniformity may have existed in the manners and customs of the Anglo-Saxons throughout the entire length of England; and, thirdly, that, inasmuch as intercommunication between places as far apart as Frilford and Driffild must have been difficult in those days, the numbers of the invaders of these similar fashions and habits must have been considerable.

The stones were set round in the grave in but a single row from within outwards, and in height they do not seem to have extended from the bottom of the grave further upwards than a stone coffin, of which they may be supposed to have been a cheap imitation, would have done. The graves here, as at Selzen, are narrowed towards their lower ends.* In such interments as these the skull may or may not be found to rest upon a stone which had been put under it in the way of support, and which has caused the lower jaw to settle down upon the cervical vertebræ, and to hold them impacted between its *rami*. The Anglo-Saxon habit of thus placing stones beneath the head of the corpse may or may not be adumbrated by the mediæval stone-pillow in monuments as suggested by the Abbé Cochet;^b but, at all events, it goes some way towards proving that coffins were not employed in the interments in which it is noticeable.

In one of these graves a mass of what has been called a "scoriform" lava, though it is different enough from the true *scoriæ* or slag similarly found in Anglo-Saxon graves at Fairford by Mr. Wylie,^c was found at the foot of a female skeleton. The bulk it made up was about that of an orange, and, as it has separated into two coadaptible halves, each of which resists very violent hammering, we must suppose that since it was put into the grave it must have been subjected to some disrupting agency which acted upon it with great force, and yet left it, when broken asunder, *in situ*. It is possible that the piece of lava in question may have been broken into two pieces by the action of a fire lighted in the grave, as, it has been suggested, was the case with a mill stone found split to pieces in a Saxon grave discovered^d at Winster in Derbyshire, and showing, which this grave did not, signs of a fire having been lighted in it. But one of the many valuable hints which I owe to Professor Phillips has made me think that it may be to frost rather than to fire that we ought to look to account for the fractures

* See Lindenschmit, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, ii. 3. 356, in review of Wanner's *Memoir, Das Alamanische Todtenfeld bei Schleithelm*; Schaafhausen, *op. cit.* pp. 131, 154.

^b *Normandie Souterraine*, ed. i. p. 192.

^c *Fairford Graves*, p. 24.

^d Extract from the "Times," Thursday, Oct. 23, 1856, given in *Horæ Ferales*, p. 104.

of volcanic products such as these. A porous soil would allow the cavities of such a piece of lava to become filled with water, and a shallow grave in a severe winter might furnish the other requisite conditions. Some mortar-like matter was adherent to the exterior of the piece of lava besides and distinct from the calcareous incrustation which the water of the soil had deposited upon it. The lava itself, as containing *hawyne*, we may be justified in regarding as having, in all probability, come from Niedermennig, which is a place whence, in the time of Augustus,* the Romans took building materials for the bridge at Trèves, and whence, as a matter of fact, mill-stones are now largely exported, and whence consequently, we may think it not wholly unlikely^b they were exported in former and Anglo-Saxon times. It is difficult, of course, to be quite sure that a sub-globular mass such as the piece of lava I found at the feet of this Anglo-Saxon female had been a piece of a quern; but fragments, of identical, and closely identical mineralogical characters, found "near a barrow in Norfolk," and "in a British barrow at Thetford," respectively, have been considered as pieces of a millstone by the well-known antiquary J. Wickham Flower, Esq., to whose kindness I owe the opportunity of comparing these several sets of volcanic fragments together.

Schaafhausen^c has put on record several instances of Germanic interments either in coffins made out of *tufa*, or in graves with fragments of such volcanic matter set round their copes, together with other stones, and it is just possible that the Niedermennig lava may have been put, as it was in this grave, at the foot of the grave, whilst other stones were set round the sides, as a kind of reminiscence of what the "setting" of the interment might have been elsewhere. But I am not aware that we have any reason for thinking that the Anglo-Saxons, who, rather more than a century^d after the first invasion drove the "Southern Belgæ or Firbolgi" out of Berkshire into Wales and Damnonia, received any accessions to their numbers from regions so far south as Andernach and Coblenz,* where such interments could be easily, and were frequently made; and it is more probable that a fragment of lava may have been put into a grave in its aspect of a fragment of a millstone, an implement of daily life, than in its aspect of a fragment of the same material as that out of which entire coffins or the entire "setting" of a grave had been made elsewhere.

* Daubeny, on *Volcanos*, pp. 49, 64.

^b See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, ed. iii. 1867, p. 438, seen by me subsequently to writing as above.

^c *Op. cit.* pp. 122, 127; Wren, *Parentalia*, p. 27. ^d See Beale Poste, *Celtic Inscriptions*, 1861, p. 71.

* Leo, however, in his *Ortsnamen*, p. 100-104, has tried to show that most of the local names near Heidelberg correspond to local names in Kent.

On the whole, I am inclined to regard these interments as belonging to a period of transition from the comparative if not total heathenism of shallower interments without orientation, and without the decent regard for the dead which the setting of stones round the graves indicates, to the more distinctively Christian mode of burial without insignia and in coffins. The greater depth and the direction of the graves I should regard as due to the teaching of the Christian missionaries; the adoption of the very graves used by the Romano-Britons may have been due merely to the imitative tendencies of the conquering races, or it may be ascribed to the influence of some remnants of the conquered Christians, who may have maintained their religion on sufferance, and their traditions as to the tombs of their fathers during the dark period which intervened between the invasion of Cerdic and the preaching of Birinus. The tricking out of a corpse with insignia of sex, or rank, or employment, seems half heathen to us who have the great truth that we can take nothing out of the world with us impressed upon us at times when we are most open to impressions; still it is just such a custom as a missionary with the proper amount of the wisdom of the serpent would acquiesce in. Time, such a teacher would know, was on his side, and he would feel that he could afford to wait.

It is possible that the differences between these two kinds of Anglo-Saxon inhumation may have been due to some social differences between the persons severally practising them, and that the deeper graves may have been dug for richer, and the shallower for poorer, persons. But the insignia in both alike are very closely similar, and I incline, therefore, to ascribe the greater care bestowed upon the latter class of interment not to any sense of the favours which a richer person had conferred in times past, but to the greater care which Christianity would teach ought to be bestowed upon the burial of the body.

The resemblance of the Anglo-Saxon manners and customs to those of the kindred but hostile race of the Franks, is very familiar to the English explorer of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, if he be acquainted either with Lindenschmit's work, *Das Germanische Todtenlager beim Selzen*, or with the works of the Abbé Cochet so often referred to in this paper. The Merovingian^a and the Anglo-Saxon resembled each other in their abhorrence of city life; and also in the melancholy point of their short-livedness which has already been alluded to, and which

^a Gibbon, vi. 336, chap. xxxviii. for *Merovingians*; Tacitus, *Germania*, chap. 16, for Germans generally; Coote's *Neglected Fact in English History*, p. 123; Ammianus Marcellinus, xvi. 2-12; Pearson, *op. cit.* i. 264. Augustine brought Frank interpreters with him into Kent, Bede *H. E.* i. 25, and the Welsh poems sometimes speak of the Saxon enemy as a "Frank;" see Skene, *Four Ancient Books*, i. 460.

appears to be explicable by the fact that in the times we have been dealing with these races preferred a country life, it is true, to a town life, but a country life in a camp, not a country life in a village. As Temple (cit. Rapin, p. 161) and Leibnitz long ago remarked, there are other points which serve to show the community of origin of the Frank and the Saxon, such are their reckoning time by the nights, as the "fortnight," to say nothing of their closely allied languages. A minor point of community is furnished by their common employment of the Roman tiling to set round their graves. On the other hand, the Saxons retained the custom of cremation a century and a half longer than the Merovingians, and their urns were not lathe-turned, whilst those of the Selzen Teutons were. (See Lindenschmit, *l. c.*, p. 15.) Holy-water vessels have not been so constantly found at Frilford as they appear to have been at Selzen, from the beautiful figures given in the monograph referred to, or as they are expressly stated to have been by the Abbé Cochet in the Merovingian interments.*

VI. *Conclusions suggested by an Examination of the Human Remains found at Frilford.*

The cranial and other osteological peculiarities of the human remains which I have examined from the Frilford cemetery, seem to me to throw sometimes a very unambiguous, and sometimes, it must be confessed, a more or less questionable light upon certain of the moot points in the political and natural history of the period in which their owners lived. Among those points may be specially mentioned the often-raised and very variously answered questions, as to the extent to which^b the Anglo-Saxon Conquest was equivalent to an extirpation of the population previously in occupation of this country;^c and as to the physical and

* See *Archéologie Céramique*, pp. 11, 13.

^b For the question of the extent to which the Celtic population were destroyed by the Saxon Invasions: see Pearson's *History of England during the Early and Middle Ages*, i. 99—103, 1867; Freeman's *Norman Conquest*, i. 18, 20; Akerman, *Archæologia*, 38, 2nd Report, Brighthampton; Turner's *Anglo-Saxon History*, i. 311; Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 8; Kemble's *Saxons in England*, i. 21; D. Wilson, *Anthropological Review*, iii. 81.

^c For the various views which have been held as to the Roman cranium: see Ecker, *Crania Germaniæ*, p. 86, 1865; Ecker, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, i. 2, p. 279, 1866; ii. 1, p. 110, 1867; Holder, *Ibid.* ii. 1, p. 58; His, *Crania Helvetica*, pp. 39 and 40; His, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, i. 1, p. 73, 1866; His and Vogt, Morillet's *Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'homme*, August 1866, pp. 522, 523; *Crania Britannica*, p. 23, chap. ii. and ad pl. 49; Davies and Thurnam, cit. *Indigenous Races*, p. 312; Maggiorani, cited by Ecker, *Cran. Germ.* p. 88, and *Arch. für Anth. l.c.*; cited by v. Baer, *Bull. Acad. Imp. Sci. St. Petersburg*, 1860, p.

more particularly the cranial characters of the Romans and Romanized Britons. But it is worthy of note that very indubitable evidence, at least as to some of the social and moral peculiarities^a of the conquered and the conquering races respectively, may be gathered from a careful examination of their bony remains.^b

I have subjoined in a tabular form the results of my examination of the sometimes fairly complete, sometimes exceedingly incomplete, remains of 123 burnt or buried bodies which have come into my hands from the excavations and quarrying carried on at Frilford at various times during the years 1864-68 inclusive. In spite of the ravages of fire in the cases of cremation, and the all but equally destructive working of the water containing carbonic and other acids upon inhumation in ground with the rock (coralline oolite) at an average distance of about a yard from the surface, it has been possible to identify the sex and age in all but about a sixth of the skeletons, or parts of skeletons, examined. Many skeletons, however, and many urns had been lost to science, as may be gathered from Mr. Akerman's report,^c during the various quarrying operations carried on at various times previously to his investigations, and the arithmetical results of my researches are much less valuable consequently than they otherwise might have been. But I incline to think that the tolerably exhaustive and complete collection which the great kindness of the authorities at Frilford has enabled me to make of the fruits of the excavations carried on during the last two years, may be taken as a fair sample of what the entire series was.

One of the most striking peculiarities of the series of 123 skeletons, as represented more or less fragmentarily in the University Museum at Oxford, is the very large number of old persons' remains which it presents to our view. The most superficial observer cannot fail to be impressed by this fact. A little more accurate inspection shows that the proportion of aged persons varied most surprisingly

58, fig. g; Edwards, *Des Caractères Physiologiques des Races Humaines*, p. 50; Nott and Gliddon, *Indigenous Races*, p. 311, and Cardinal Wiseman, *cit. in loco*.

^a As to the supposed degeneracy of the Britons, see Kemble, *Saxons in England*, ii. 294, i. 6; *Encyclopædia Metropol.* xi. 378; Zosimus, *cit. Mon. Hist. Brit.* lxxviii. vi. 6.

^b As the German periodical, the *Archiv für Anthropologie*, is conducted under the joint editorship of Ecker and Lindenschmit, and as the latter, I apprehend, is as well known among archæologists as the former is among biologists, no apology will be needed for the constant reference which I shall have to make to its pages. It may be well to add here that the English reader can find a very clear account of the classification of crania adopted by His and Rüttimeyer, and alluded to very frequently by myself, as also by various writers in the periodical just mentioned, in the *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, pp. 104, 105, a work written by S. Laing, Esq. M.P. and Professor Huxley, conjointly.

^c *Proc. Soc. Antiq. ubi supra*.

in accordance with the nationality, and that of the persons of either sex who were interred with Anglo-Saxon insignia only two could have been considered old. We are, unhappily, even now too familiar with the history of invading armies to feel it necessary to spend much time in excogitating an explanation of this fact: it is worthy, however, of mention that a similar fact has been noted by the Abbé Cochet^a in the burial-grounds of the kinsfolk of the Anglo-Saxons, the Merovingian Franks. The preponderance of longevity being seen to attach to the Romano-British population, the presence with these aged "frames" of coins bearing such names as those of Gratian tempts us to explain the phenomenon by the hypothesis of the young men having been taken away to fight and die in distant countries under such commanders as Magnus Maximus. Persons who some years ago had the opportunity of seeing village after village on the continent of Europe inhabited by forms like that of Tithonus, will be ready to accept this explanation as sufficient to account for the fact. Till I came to add up the various individual identifications of the two sexes which I had made from time to time, and without any reference to any historical relations which the skeletons or their owners might have possessed during life, I held this hypothesis myself. But on adding up the numbers of males and females severally, I find that I have assigned no less than 48 of the 123 bodies to the male sex, and only 34 to the female. Even if we add to the female series the 11 individuals as to whose sex I have felt myself unable to pronounce, the force of this arithmetic is but little impaired, or, indeed, not at all.^b The fact of the great preponderance in number of aged remains may be explained by a reference to the present condition of the population on the spot. Frilford is renowned for its salubrity and the longevity of its inhabitants at the present day. The fact of the great preponderance of male skeletons is not so easy of explanation, and it is especially difficult of solution when we note that more than half of these male skeletons are aged ones. Barracks and prisons furnish an excess of male skele-

^a *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 183.

^b It has been suggested to me that the soldiers, who, on the hypothesis before us, are supposed to have left their bones in foreign lands, may have taken wives with them. But it could not have been often in days of such difficulty in travelling that "Lycoris

"Perque nives alium perque horrida castra secuta est."

The soldiers of Gustavus Adolphus were, very many of them, married men, but I do not know that their wives accompanied them to his famous battle-fields. The men too, who fought and won at Lützen had very different motives and incentives from those of the recruits who followed the standards of the various "tyrants" and pretenders of the later Roman Empire, and it is only by means of such motives and incentives that men can be got in any large numbers to break away from family ties and join distant military expeditions.

tons in their burial-grounds, I apprehend, but not an excess of *aged* male skeletons. I am not aware that the monks of the west had established themselves among the Atrebates before the time of Cerdic.* And the only hypothesis which has suggested itself to me is that the part of the burial-ground which has fallen under my inspection may have been used by preference, though by no means exclusively, for male interments. The hypothesis of a battle is excluded by several considerations, and notably by that of the age of the skeletons.

Of the thirty-five skeletons assigned by me to the female sex, thirteen were of aged, and no less than nineteen of young, women. The great dangers of childbirth may be supposed to be indicated by these figures, and the osteophytic intracranial growths^b so often observed in the puerperal state, and noted here in four cases, may point in the same direction. Under the head of children I have reckoned all persons below the age of thirteen or fourteen. The numbers of this class, viz. twenty-eight, which I have identified, holds a much smaller proportion to the whole number, 123, than we should expect from modern statistics. But the greater perishability of children's bones, and the lesser depths of their graves, which, if not more chemically, is yet mechanically more dangerous to their preservation, must be borne in mind in considering these figures, and should prevent us from basing any argument upon them over-hastily. Still, we may perhaps be justified in thinking that there could not have been at Frilford, even in days when glazed windows and coal were as little used as China-ware and "China drink," that great infantile mortality which, by weeding out all the weakly in early life, produces a population of adults with a great proportion of aged individuals.

The Anglo-Saxon remains which I have procured from Frilford have suffered much from the mechanical and chemical agencies to which the shallowness of their graves, and, secondly, the shallowness of the soil, exposed them; and the youth of their owners has still further rendered them amenable to these destructive and distorting forces. But, thanks to the reconstructive ability of Mr. Charles Robertson, I have been enabled to see that the two types of crania which have been shown by Dr. Barnard Davis to have been found with Anglo-Saxon insignia, both at Long Wittenham,^c and at Linton, in Cambridgeshire,^d coexisted

* See, however, *Hist. Mon. de Abingdon*, i. pp. 2, 8.

^b Rokitsansky, *Path. Anat.* Sydenham Soc. Trans. iii. 208; Bock, *Pathologie*, p. 209.

^c See *Archæologia*, xxxviii. No. 107, 770 k. Oxford Univ. Museum.

See *Crania Britannica*, Dec. 4, pl. xlv. Two other crania of this "platycephalic" type have been found in the Frilford cemetery subsequently to the writing of this paper, viz. March 22, 1869 (No. iv. and

side by side in the Anglo-Saxon contingent which possessed itself of Frilford. I may remark that the two types are recognisable in specimens of both sexes, and a very fairly perfect female cranium has been figured (Plate XXIV. fig. 5) from a grave in which a pair of fibulæ and a number of beads were found, as it shows at once, and distinguishably, the tribal and the sexual characters, which have very often been confounded, and as from the surroundings with which it was found there is no doubt as to its value as a standard of reference. This skull appears to have belonged to the shorter and broader type of Anglo-Saxon crania, which was, I am inclined to think, the less cultivated of the two types. A second Anglo-Saxon female cranium found here belongs to the same type. A single female and a single male cranium of a more elongated form were also found with Anglo-Saxon insignia. The female skeleton, it may be remarked, belonged to an old person, and in this point, as also in the possession of cruciform fibulæ (see Plate XXV. fig. 7), instead of circular ones, this skeleton differed from the two others with which we have compared it. It was chiefly from a comparison of the female Anglo-Saxon skull figured in Plate XXIV. fig. 5, with the first cranium described by me as "cranium (male) marked A" for Mr. Akerman in his Report in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries, May 25, 1865, that I came to see that my assignment of this latter to the male sex had been in all probability erroneous. This cranium was reported as having been found with a fibula two feet above it, and though this by no means proves it to be an Anglo-Saxon skull from the archæological point of view, the very close anatomical approximation of this skull to the indubitably Anglo-Saxon skull figured in Plate XXIV. fig. 5 does, when coupled with this fact, lend some considerable probability to such a conclusion. In justice to myself, I may be permitted to say that the cranium and lower jaw were the only bony relics upon which I had to form my judgment as to sex, and that in my report I did draw attention to the small development of size and strength which they seemed to show that their owner must have possessed. And the authority of anatomists of no less repute than His and Rüttimeyer,^a Welcker^b and Ecker,^c may be adduced to show that it is by no means always possible to decide the ques-

v.) Both had belonged to young men. In both the body had been buried with the head raised; and in one the grave, though semioriented, was only 18 inches deep, and the arm lay across the body, and not by the side, as in the burials of Latinized populations (see Cochet, *Normand. Souterr.* p. 193). There were no relics, and we have not therefore more than probable evidence for their nationality.

^a *Crania Helvetica*, pp. 8 and 9.

^b *Archiv für Anthropologie*, i. 1, p. 127.

^c *Ibid.* ii. 1, p. 110.

tion of the sex of a cranium in the absence of the pelvis and other bones. It is interesting to remark that a very similar female cranium was found by the Rev. George Cardew in a Romano-British cemetery at Helmingham under circumstances such as that of having the head raised, which makes it probable that the skull may have differed as much ethnologically as it does anatomically from the skulls of the Romanized Celts, amongst whom it, as also another cranium supposed not to have been Celtic, was found. This cranium has been presented to the University Museum by the Rev. G. Cardew, and has been carefully measured and compared with other skulls supposed or known to have belonged to Anglo-Saxons. Two smallish brachycephalic or sub-brachycephalic and prognathic crania, one of which belonged to an old (No. xiv. Jan. 15, 1868) and the other to a young woman (No. x. March 17, 1868), and neither of which has any other than osteological evidence attached to it for the decision, I am inclined upon this evidence to think may have been Anglo-Saxons of the type of the two female crania just spoken of. The younger of these two women's skulls was found with the cervical vertebræ impacted between the rami of its lower jaw, and in this, as in many other particulars, resembles the female Anglo-Saxon skull from Brighthampton, to be seen catalogued as No. 5,712 D, in the College of Surgeons.

Among the entire series, besides some fourteen crania, or parts more or less fragmentary of crania, and other bones, which speak to the existence of a distinct interment without making it possible to refer the remains certainly to a distinct type, there are some four or five crania which bear a considerable resemblance to crania of what is perhaps the most common modern English type. The frontal region, without attaining any very extraordinary development, nor exceeding either in vertical or transverse diameter the frontal regions of the larger specimens of brachycephalic British skulls, is, nevertheless, possessed of more equable proportions relatively to the other regions of the cranium than the great majority of ancient crania.^b And in consequence, to some extent, of this, the entire calvarium shows a more evenly ovoidal contour than the skulls composing the rest of this series. These crania were found in graves in which no relics, except in one instance a nail, were found, and which ran in the ordinary semi-oriented Romano-British direction. And, so far as the brain case is concerned, these crania might be looked upon as embodying the result of intermarriages of the broader "Sion" type with the narrow "Hohberg" type, and corresponding with

^b See Broca, *Sur la Capacité des Crânes Parisiens*, Bull. Soc. Anth. de Paris, tom. iii. 113, 1862.

the "Misch-Form" spoken of by His at p. 49 of the *Crania Helvetica*. And they might perhaps be considered as representing the inevitable result of the settlement of a large Roman immigration in the midst of a dolichocephalic Celtic people. But inasmuch as these crania show a not inconsiderable tendency to prognathism, and resemble herein the Anglo-Saxon, and differ from the Romano-British series, I incline to think they may have belonged to Christianized Anglo-Saxons who died before the churchyard had superseded the cemetery, but after the custom of burial with insignia had given way to the urgency by the which its anti-Christian character may have been represented to the convert. The hypothesis of poverty will account for the absence of relics, but I do not incline to accept it here, partly on account of the presence of a nail, which may seem to imply the employment of a coffin in one of the interments, and partly on account of the resemblance which these skulls show to the male Anglo-Saxon cranium (No. 36, *Researches at Long Wittenham, Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii.) and to a female Anglo Saxon cranium obtained for me by the kindness of the Rev. R. Taylor, from the Kemble Cemetery, described by Mr. Akerman in the *Archæologia*, 1856, vol. xxxvii. in neither of which cases have we reason to suspect the existence of straitened means.

*Compare skull no. ii. York.
May. 19. 1870. probably Roman*

The name of Magnus Maximus, the Maxen-lwedig of the Mabinogion, forbids us to think that in the days of Gratian there could have been, either in modes of life or in modes of burial, much difference between a Roman and a Romano-Briton. Tenants of leaden coffins must, from the expensive character of their interment, have been persons of distinction, such as were the "Equites"^a under the Roman empire; but Roman citizenship no more implied Roman blood in the days of Ambrose than it did in those of St. Paul. The *Notitia*,^b indeed, informs us that races, such as the Tungrians, Dacians, Moors, Cilicians, and Dalmatians, as well as Spaniards, Gauls and Germans, were employed by the imperial policy to hold Britain at the foot of Rome.

But if it is at all possible to separate and distinguish, when one is treating of the times of Maximus, between a Romano-British and a Roman interment, it may be possible to do so in such cases as those of the two interments in leaden coffins already described. The tenants of these coffins must at least have been persons of wealth, and in the enjoyment during their lifetime of

^a See Kemble's *Saxons in England*, ii. 272; Pearson's *History of England*, i. 45; Coote's *Neglected Fact in English History*, pp. 40, 45.

^b See *Roman City of Uriconium*, by J. Corbet Anderson, Esq. p. 129; and Holder, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, ii. i. 88, Taylor, *Words and Places*, p. 284, *ibique citata*.

all the distinctive characteristics which still remained attached to the title *Civis Romanus*. It is true that coins were found with the one and not with the other of these two skeletons, but in all other particulars attending their sepulture they seem to have very closely resembled each other. But when we come to compare their crania we find that while that of the skeleton found with coins is of an elegantly vaulted and lofty form, that of the other is low, broad, and globose. Professor His would speak of the one as belonging to his "Hohberg," and of the other as belonging to his "Sion" *typus*. The skull of the former differs but little, and that chiefly in the way of refinement, from the elongated and vaulted crania procured from British barrows of a pre-Roman period, such as the long barrow at Netherswell, near Stow-on-the-Wold, calvaria from which I have side by side with that of this Roman from the leaden coffin as I write; the skull of the latter is as broad and low as another equally authentic "Roman" cranium of about the same period, figured by Professor Ecker at pl. xx. of his *Crania Germaniae*. So far, then, as these crania bear upon the argumentation as to whether the Roman skull was an elongated and vaulted, or an elongated and broad and flat skull, we may at first sight be tempted to rest in the conclusion that both types were equally and alike found in the imperial race. I believe, however, that it is possible to show that we should be wrong in considering with Professor His^a that the former of these types, which he has also spoken of as the aristocratic type of head, is really the Roman skull *par excellence*. First, as it seems to me, the Romans themselves considered theirs to be a broad rather than a lofty-headed race. In looking at Roman monuments as reproduced for us in such works as Lindenschmit's *Alterthümer unserer heidnischen Vorzeit*, we cannot fail to be struck by the great angle at which the ears stand out from the head; and this feature, a very striking and obvious one, is, as observation on living "eurycephalic" persons will show, correlated with a globose and bossy rather than with a vertically-walled and narrow temporo-parietal region. The engraving of the beautiful monument to Manlius Cœlius, an officer in the army of Varus, given at heft vi. taf. v. of Lindenschmit's work, just referred to, shows this peculiarity in the attachment of the external *concha* of the ear in each of three heads it represents; and much the same may be said of the figures given heft iv. taf. vi., heft ix. taf. iv. and especially of the uppermost of the two

^a *Arch. für Anthropol.* i. 1, p. 70. *Crania Helvetica*, p. 38, one of the Hohberg type skulls is supposed by the authors to have come from a cemetery the graves in which were oriented, and contained swords and spear-heads as well as coins. This however does not prove that they belonged to Roman soldiers, but rather the contrary. See *Cran. Helv.* p. 21, note.

figures in heft viii. taf. vi. Busts also of the Roman emperors and of other Romans which are recognised as more or less authentic speak to the same effect. Secondly, we do find the broad and flat form of cranium very commonly in cemeteries of undoubted Roman character in England, and the arched and centrally ridged and narrow cranium we do find in as undoubtedly British barrows. A skull, most singularly resembling one of my globose platycephalic crania from Frilford, was recently shown me by Canon Greenwell from a cemetery at Margate, where it had been found with Roman pottery, whilst the "Hohberg" type of skull is the very form which Retzius describes as the less common Celtic form, and calls, for the sake of distinguishing it, by the name "Belgic."* Thirdly, through the kindness of Thomas Combe, Esq., M.A. of Oxford, I have had put into my hands, and into the Oxford Museum, a skull, "found in excavating a house of the time of the Roman Republic, discovered below a vineyard, near the baths of Caracalla, on the Via Appia," and this skull, though it belonged to a person of not more than between twelve and fourteen years of age, enables me to understand how the modern Italian anthropologist Maggiorani speaks of the ancient Roman skull as a long but broad skull, oblong and four-cornered, with broad interparietal and broad frontal regions. But I must say that the skull from the leaden coffins, of which I am speaking, as also a more or less authentic bust of Julius Cæsar, and such works of art as the Roman figured in Lindenschmit's *Alterthümer*, heft vii. taf. v. have convinced me that too much weight may be laid upon breadth of forehead. In these heads the broad character which they present does not depend upon the frontal but upon the parietal region, and the vertical view of the cranium presents very much such an outline from back to front as the broad side of the flint axes or celts, so familiar to antiquaries, presents from front to back. The head of the first Napoleon must have presented such a contour when viewed from above; and I believe, in spite of our tendency to connect a narrow forehead with foolishness, that a truer analysis would connect it in many cases merely with premature closure of the frontal suture, which seems hereditary in some families. This premature closing is consistent with the possession of a large cerebrum, and of great mental powers, and we cannot arrogate for it any ethnological significance, at all events in cultured races.

His and Rüttimeyer (*Crania Helvetica*, p. 34), hold that their "Sion" type of cranium, which seems to me to be represented by the broad, flattish, globosely contoured skulls, of which I have just been speaking, was the type of skull

* *Ethnologische Schriften*, p. 108.

*Cf. Welcher's Zuri. d. d. p. 101.
Halle Abhand. vii.*

possessed by the Helvetii, their "Celtic forefathers," and by the inhabitants of their Pfahlbauten. And, as there is evidence to show that this same form of skull existed in pre-Roman times even in these islands, we must not suppose that the flatter and more globose skulls which we find at Frilford belonged exclusively to Roman immigrants, or to immigrants from Southern Europe, who may have been commanding as officers, or settled as upper-class *decuriones* or *equites* in the neighbourhood of this cemetery. The loftier and narrower crania, however, may with less hesitation be supposed to have belonged to men of similar station, but of British birth and blood, who had acquiesced in Roman rule, and identified themselves with Roman institutions.

Differing in the particulars specified, the osteological remains of the two occupiers of leaden coffins do nevertheless present certain important points of resemblance. Both belonged to men who were beyond the middle period of life, who were possessed of great muscular strength, but whose skulls, teeth, and jaws seem to show that they had the command of the comforts of civilization. Whilst the skulls in both cases present the appearances of refinement, the other bones of the skeleton are much roughened by the development upon them on the one hand of ridges for the insertion and origin of muscles, and on the other of rheumatic (?) exostoses. And these same bones show, in the one case, with considerable probability, and the other with absolute certainty, that their owner had been exposed, or exposed himself, to personal injury and violence, and had, probably, been a soldier of much service in the stormy times to which, in one case, the antiquarian relics enable us to assign his remains with perfect certainty. The left collar-bone belonging to the skull of the more globose and flatter outlines had undergone and repaired a comminuted fracture during life, and the left metatarsal of the second toe of the foot of the same side, a bone but rarely broken, had been broken, though less severely, than the collar-bone, and had, like it, been repaired during life. A fall from a horse may break a collar-bone, but injuries such as war entails are suggested to us by a history like this. The other skull, which was found with five coins, and which I have said may probably be looked upon as having been produced by the action of Roman influences upon the more roughly-hewn dolichocephalic Britons, was found in company with a left first rib, which had ankylosed with its ossified costal cartilage, which again, like the clavicle just above it, had its sternal articular end greatly enlarged. It is possible that these peculiarities may have been the result of exostotic disease, of which the other bones bear evidence, though less marked evidence than the bones of the other skeleton with which we are comparing them; but for the reason conveyed in

these last words, as also because the abnormal appearances are not repeated on the opposite side, I incline to ascribe them to the working of some mechanical injury inflicted, possibly, in war, and certainly many years before death. The owner of this skull had lost, and was at the time of his death losing, teeth by caries,^a and was suffering and had suffered from exostosis in sympathy with it; the owner of the other had lost two of the molars of the right side of the lower jaw early in life, and the molars of the corresponding side in the upper jaw are little worn and suggestive of youth till we look at the other side. The lower jaw in the former of the two skulls is very well formed; in the latter it is comparatively feeble, especially in the region of the chin; the teeth in both are less worn than the age testified to by the rest of their skeletons would have led us to expect. The occupiers of these coffins were both tall men; the stature of the man found with the coins must have been nearly five feet eleven inches, that of the other nearly six feet. A skeleton of an old man, the skull of which closely resembles that of the former of these (see *Catalogue, infra*, No. xiv. May 1867), and which bears less ambiguous marks of its owner having been a warrior in the gaping, though healed, wound on its left side, belonged, as its femur of 19.5 inches length shows, to a man of fully six feet in height. The stature of each of these three warriors was much above that of the average Roman of ancient days, who spoke of the Germanic and Celtic races as possessing *immania ac procera corpora*, as it is also above that of his modern Italian representative,^b and above that of the Long Barrow British skeletons.^c The better food of civilization may have increased the stature of the former of the two occupiers of the leaden coffins, and of the owner of the beautifully elegant and vaulted cranium (No. xiv. May 1867);^d whilst intercrossing would account for the increase in height in the skeleton to which the flatter skull belonged, if, with Edwards, Cardinal Wiseman,^d Sandifort, and Ecker, we should consider it to be probably Roman.

The craniography of the occupiers of the graves which I have spoken of as Romano-British or British, and which the archæological evidence above adduced shows to have belonged to the times of the later Roman empire, is a subject of considerably greater difficulty than that of the Anglo-Saxon and of the leaden

^a For an interesting history of dental caries, as observed in the ancient inhabitants of Britain, see a paper by J. R. Mummery, esq. *Trans. Odont. Society*, 1869.

^b See Edwards, *Des Caractères Physiologiques des Races Humaines*, p. 53. See Keysler, *l.c.* p. 220, for the stature of the ancient races under comparison, *ibique citata*.

^c See Thurnam, *op. cit.* pp. 40-41.

^d *Lectures on the Connexion between Science and Revealed Religion*, p. 152, *cit.* Nott and Gliddon, *Indigenous Races*, pp. 311, 312.

coffin interments. An examination of fifty-three of these interments, and a comparison, carried on at great cost of time, of their contents with those of several other cemeteries, has conducted me to the following conclusions as to the tribal characters of the pre-Saxon inhabitants of this district with whom I have had to deal. In the first place, I have not in my excavations at Frilford met with any representatives of the brachycephalic type of ancient Britons so well described by Dr. Thurnam,^a and called "Belgic" by Professor Huxley. This is especially noteworthy, as typical examples of this form of cranium have been, through the kindness of the Duke of Marlborough, procured by me for the University Museum from the long barrow at Crawley, described by Mr. Akerman, in the *Archæologia*, xxxvii. 432, and supposed by him to belong to the same period in time, as it does to much the same district in space, as the Frilford cemetery. Secondly, the longer, narrower, and more vaulted skulls, supposed to have distinguished a race which in England at least took the priority in point of time of the brachycephalic and taller race just mentioned, are, in what I should consider their most typical form, all but equally absent here. That most typical form I should consider as identical with the form regarded as "Belgic" by Retzius,^b and spoken of by him as "a Celtic but not the common Celtic form;" and the form called "Cumbecephalic" by Professor Daniel Wilson^c I should regard as being but a slight modification of it. And the three skulls which I have classed in my Tabular view of results of Osteological Investigations (*infra*) as belonging to the "Hohberg" *typus* of His and Rüttimeyer, may be looked upon as embodying the results of the working upon that form of the Roman civilization with which their owners were in contact. Those results are expressed by a decrease in the angularity of the external outlines, and an increase in the cubic capacity indicated in a few cases very strikingly by an open frontal suture; see p. 34, *supra*. Thirdly, a very large majority, viz. thirty-two out of the fifty-three, adult Romano-British interments investigated by me belong to a type which has frequently been confounded, since the time of Retzius' writings, with the dolichocephalic types just spoken of, but which that excellent ethnographer distinguished from it as "Cimbric," a variety of "the common Celtic" type. Comparing this form of cranium, which I may add is by no means

^a *On Two principal Forms of Ancient British and Gaulish Skulls*, pp. 31 and 101. Skulls of this form are considered by Sir Thomas Wilde to have belonged in Ireland to fair-headed, light-coloured, blue, or grey-eyed Celtae, or Tuatha De Danaan. See *Beauties of the Boyne*, 2nd ed. 1850, pp. 221, 237, 239, and the figure at p. 232.

^b See *Ethnologische Schriften*, p. 107, 108.

^c *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, chap. ix. 1851.

extinct amongst ourselves at the present day, with the elongated but narrow form which he supposes to have belonged to the "Belgæ," Retzius speaks first of "the common Celtic form," and says it differs from the "Belgic," in being less narrow and compressed. The Cimbric variety, he adds, which is found in South Sweden and Denmark, is even somewhat broader still; is very like the Scandinavian Gothic form, and is of an elongated oval shape, with a greatly developed occipital region. And Retzius has, by the gift of a "plaster cast of the cranium of an ancient aboriginal of Scandinavia regarded as the Celt" to the easily accessible and invaluable ethnological series in the London College of Surgeons,* enabled us to understand most unambiguously what was the type of skull to which he alluded. To this type, most assuredly, the large majority of the adult Romano-British crania found in this cemetery are referrible. And I may here say that a skull obtained by me, with many others, from a barrow at Dinnington, near Rotherham, in South Yorkshire, of which casts have been made and presented to various museums in this and other countries by Dr. Thurnam, corresponds very closely with this cast presented to the College of Surgeons by Professor Retzius, and more closely still with some of the very fine skulls obtained by me from Frilford. Professor Ecker, in writing of this cast,^b observes, apparently without having Retzius' comparison above quoted of such skulls to the Scandinavian Gothic type before his mind, that it resembles the skulls he has described as "Grave Row," "Reihen-Gräber" skulls, and assigned to the ancient Germanic and modern Swedish peoples. Very similar skulls, again, I have obtained from Romano-British cemeteries of the later times of the Empire, as testified to by archæological evidence, at Long Wittenham, in Berkshire, through the kindness of the Rev. J. C. Clutterbuck; from Helmingham, in Suffolk, through the agency of the Rev. G. Cardew, and from Towyn-y-Capel, Holyhead, by that of the Hon. W. O. Stanley. The ancient British skull from a cist at Winterborne Monkton, North Wilts, figured by Dr. Thurnam, *Crania Britannica*, Plate 58, is closely similar in contour and proportions, as taken by measurement, to the variety of which I am here treating. The osteological peculiarities of this "elongated oval Romano-British type," as seen at Frilford, shew us that we have to deal, there at least, with *times of civilization*. For civilization differs from heathendom in nothing more markedly to the eye of the craniologist than in the age to which persons who have lived under its influences attain; and the long

*The Belgian Chieftain's Skull
is described by Viscount Arct. Coll.
of 1815 and is said to be
like the Reichen Gräber skulls*

* See *Catalogue*, Osteological Series, ii. 880, Prep. 5709.

^b *Archiv für Anthropologie*, i. 2, p. 283. As Professor Ecker considers his *Reihengräberform* to correspond with the "Hohberg" type of His and Rüttimeyer, it would appear that he would consider this cast as belonging to that class from which, however, its cubic capacity differentiates it.

skulls of which I am now speaking differ very strikingly from the long and narrow skulls described by Dr. Thurnam in this very particular, that in very many cases they belonged to very aged individuals.* The greater average stature of this variety of Celt (5 feet 8 inches as against 5 feet 6 inches of the older form,) may perhaps be in like manner ascribed to the greater civilization and command of the means of sustenance which we know them to have possessed. I have referred eleven female skulls to this type as against twenty-one male; the female skulls in many cases approaching very closely to the proportions of the medium-sized male skulls.^b A much greater difference, on the other hand—viz., as much as 8.5 inches, judging from the average approximatively obtained from the measurement of the long bones of ten women referred to this type—appears to have existed between the statures of either sex in this type than exists between the statures of modern English men and women. It may be said that the estimation of the stature by the various methods which take one or more of the long bones as their standard, is amenable always to several sources of fallacy, and more especially in the case of female skeletons; but in savage races^c at the present day an average difference nearly equal to that just given, as deduced from my measurements, has been observed to exist between the statures of the two sexes. And though the Romano-Britons must be considered to have been a civilised population, it must be borne in mind that the physical comfort, upon which such matters as stature depend, of their times was something very different from that of ours, when coal and glass^d are more or less within the reach of the poorest settled inhabitants of our country. The greater relative stature of the males of this variety of the

Men 160.4 = 66"
Qualified Women 157.9 = 64.812
62"

The average of 25 European skulls
than is given by Professor Humphrey
Human Skeleton p. 106 as 65"
G. Carus cit. Humphrey p. 87 gives
5'6 1/2" - 5'7" as standard.
Lithargis gives for the adult female
45 inches for the adult female
173 centimetres. Roman skeleton
= 62.998, Little Bunt p. 534 20.
The average height of 11 Australian
men was found to be 5'6" that

of a woman 4'10.5. Davis Thomsen
on Cannibals p. 366. City on
Report on Aborigines Victoria
859 p. 445. See General survey

in Brit. Afr. Med. Chir

Rev. Jan. 1875 p. 18 & 208.

Fritsch Synoptika p. 17.
16. 277.

* See Dr. Thurnam, *op. cit.* p. 60.

^b Huschke, *Schädel, Hirn, und Seele*, p. 48; ~~Holder, Arch. für Anthropologie~~, II. I, p. 55. *Barrow Review of Anthropol.* 1873/4

^c The average height of 295 adult male patients examined in the Somerset County Lunatic Asylum by Dr. Boyd, and recorded by him in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1861, p. 261, varied from 67.8 to 65 inches; that of 233 females from 63.2 to 61.6 inches. The average height of the modern German male is given by Vierordt in his *Grundriss der Physiologie*, 2nd ed. p. 460, as 172 centimetres (5 feet 7 1/2 inches); that of the German female as 164 (5 feet 4 1/2 inches). In the long barrow explored by Dr. Thurnam (l.c. p. 27) at Tilshead, three male skeletons varied in length from 5 feet 5 inches to 5 feet 8 inches, and three female skeletons from 4 feet 9 inches to 5 feet 3 inches. The average height of the dolichocephalic men from megalithic and other long barrows is given by the same author (l.c. pp. 40, 41) as 5 feet 5 inches as against 5 feet 9 inches for the brachycephalic men from circular barrows.

^d Sir Andrew Smith, K.C.B. has kindly informed me that he can safely state from extensive observation made during 17 years' residence in South Africa, that the Amakosa Kaffirs to the eastward of the Colony, average, men 5 feet 8 1/2 inches, women 5 feet 1 1/2 inch.

For introduction of panes of glass, or at least of the manufacturers of them, into England in 680 A.D., see Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 17, and *per contra* Corbet Anderson, *Uriconium* 1867, p. 69, *ibique citata*.

Wellbelovend. *Stemmum* p. 128.

Wolke W.B. p. 69 cit. Religion

Barrow Review of Anthropol. 1873/4
p. 45-46.

to Bremer Bey
Ann. Soc. Anth. 186.
Vol. I. p. 336.
10 centimetres =
3.93708"

Romanised Celt may perhaps be accounted for by their having been more exposed to and invigorated by the influences of an out-of-door life ; whilst the stature of the females, which is so disproportionately smaller as compared with modern ratios, may have been due to their spending their lives inside houses which, if light must have been cold, if warm must have been dark—which had no chimneys, and only in the case of the rich, hypocausts, and even in their case probably no glass.

Fourthly, a second form of cranium differing from the one just described is found with similar archæological surroundings. It resembles this form in its noble proportions and indications of culture ; it equals or exceeds it in length, and is distinguished from it by its greater breadth, and, whilst considering it to correspond to the " Sion Typus " of His and Rutimeyer, I have spoken of it in my catalogue and tables as the " globose Romano-British " type. A very large proportion, six out of the eleven female crania, and seven out of the ten male crania, referred by me to this type, belonged to persons of considerable age. The men attained an average stature of 5 feet 8·5 inches. The crania and the other bones of this variety of men enjoying Romano-British civilisation, have resisted the ravages of time better than those of the other form. There is no reason, however, for supposing that this valuable peculiarity is referable to any conditions not intrinsic to the bones themselves. The mode of their sepulture is identical with that of the other form, and one of the best marked specimens of the type in question was taken from a grave over which an Anglo-Saxon urn containing the burnt bones of an adult was found. The larger skulls in this series belonged in all but one instance to men of a stature little, or not at all, short of six feet, and this large stature must not be forgotten when we admire the large size of their brain-case. Only one female skull, which at all approximates in size to these larger crania, has come into my hands at Frilford ; and this skull belonged to a woman of little, if at all, more than five feet one inch in height. But I incline to think that the female crania, seven in number, which I have spoken of as " the River-bed type modified by increase of size," and which constitute in the tabular view to which I allude a third variety of the Romano-British series, with an average stature of four feet nine inches and a-half, are to be considered as the female representatives of the " globose Romano-British type." For, strikingly similar as the contour of these skulls is to that assigned by Professor Huxley* to his " River-bed skulls " their capacity exceeds that of those crania, and their measurements come to correspond very closely with those of the smaller male skulls belonging to

* See *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, p. 120.

individuals of smaller stature of the globose Romano-British type, whilst in their solid texture they resemble the larger skulls of that division.

Fac-similes of these female crania have been procured from many excavations in this country. I have found them in the "Long Barrow" at Crawley, which has been already spoken of as containing skeletons with crania of the brachycephalic British type, and which, it should be added, has furnished us with evidence as to female skulls corresponding to the large brachycephalic male skulls, and differing, therefore, considerably from every variety of the River-bed type. A skull very closely similar to this Frilford variety of pre-Saxon times may be seen in the museum of the London College of Surgeons, under the number "5712 R" in the Catalogue, and with the title "Peat skull." And, lastly, a modern female skull obtained for me by Dyce Duckworth, Esq., M.D., from the Hinter-Rhein-Thal, near the Splügen Pass, the country of the "Disentis" type of the Swiss anatomists, would have shown me, had other evidence been wanting, that this form of cranium has persisted into, and is abundant in, our own day.

A modification of the River-bed type is presented to us in certain small crania to which I have applied the term "cylindrocephalic." In this form represented by two female and undoubtedly pre-Saxon crania (No. ii. Sept. 1867, and No. iv. Jan. 1868,) the frontal and parietal tuberosities are nearly or quite obsolete, and the calvarium, elongating as if in compensation, becomes somewhat cylindroidal in its antero-posterior outline.

Only one male cranium has been found by me at Frilford, which I should class with the River-bed male skull from Muskham, and the Towyn-y-Capel skulls so intelligibly described by Prof. Huxley in the *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, p. 120, and frequently examined by myself in the Museum of the College of Surgeons. This cranium belonged to a strong man of six feet, beyond the middle period of life, who seems, from the direction of his grave, and the copper staining upon his somewhat prognathic jaws and collar bone, to have been acknowledged as a Romano-Briton, and to have been buried just as individuals whose osteological remains speak with some authority to their greater culture. By the possession of a slightly greater breadth, and consequently a much higher cephalic index, 78 as against 76 of the typical male River-bed skull just specified, this skull shows a tendency towards assuming the outlines of the smaller representatives of the globose Romano-British type. The fact that but one male against nine female skulls of the River-bed type has been found at Frilford amidst so many other types of head, and so many marks of civilization, is suggestive of the explanation which their having belonged to a slave population

would more or less satisfactorily give. The River-bed skulls from the barrow at Crawley which have come into my hands are also all female, as I think, but this barrow has by no means been exhaustively explored. And I incline, though doubtfully, not having had the pelvis nor the long bones to aid me in forming my judgment, to refer the Towyn-y-Capel skulls in the College of Surgeons to the same sex as all the similarly-constructed crania, except the one just mentioned, found at Frilford. In the large male skulls, of which I have spoken, Professors Rüttimeyer and His would, I think, recognise their "Sion typus;" and assuredly they merit the titles of *Kräftigkeit* and *Würde*, which Rüttimeyer* bestows upon them. It may be right to hold that these crania belonged to men British in blood, though here at least Roman by citizenship; but, if we assign them to the Roman immigrants, we shall have an explanation of the enlargement of the River-bed type of skull suggested to us at once in the very probable hypothesis of intermarriages taking place between foreigners and the, possibly aboriginal, inhabitants of the country, who may have been actually slaves, but must certainly have been in a lower state of civilization. And in this hypothesis the paucity of male River-bed skulls would also find an explanation.

The Roman immigrants had all but certainly a preponderating proportion of males amongst them, and it would be natural to suppose that the same disproportion prevailed similarly among the swarms of the less settled, less civilised, Saxons. But I am bound to say that the craniological evidence before me leads me to think that the reverse of this very reasonable anticipation was what actually took place, at all events here; for the crania found buried with the Anglo-Saxon insignia of the female sex are most distinctly different, both as to signs of culture, and as to type and contour, from the crania which belonged to the Romano-British women exhumed here. I do not think these Rowenas with somewhat prognathic jaws, and small unhandsomely contoured calvaria, could have been "exceedingly fair and goodly to look upon;" and I am certain that Martial, though he may not have been a physiognomist, would never have said of these Saxon females what he said of the British lady, Claudia Rufina,^b that she might have been taken by a Roman matron for one of her own countrywomen.

* *Jahrbuch der Schweizer Alpen* for 1864, p. 398.

^b Claudia cœruleis quum sit Rufina Britannis
Edita, quam Latiae pectora plebis habet—
Quale decus formæ, Romanam credere matres
Italides possunt.—xi. 53.

M. Serres, on the other hand, appears^a to have convinced himself that in the Merovingian cemetery of Londinières the males belonged to the Scandinavian and the females to the Celtic race. And, upon the general considerations which have been very clearly and convincingly put forward by Professor Pearson^b and by Mr. L. O. Pike,^c I should be inclined to think that wholesale massacres of the conquered Romano-Britons were rare, and that wholesale importations of Anglo-Saxon women were not much more frequent. Still Anderida was levelled with the ground, and its women and children, as well as its male inhabitants, were put to the sword. And where the obstinate resistance of the inhabitants may not have provoked the invaders into cruelty, which would have been unnatural, even in the notoriously cruel Saxon (see Salvian, *cit.* Kingsley, *Roman and Teuton* p. 46)), the civilization of the former may very well have attained to such a level as to make them think a retreat into Damnonia preferable to remaining on the same spot with a race so destitute, as the Saxons were, both of the means and appliances of the arts and manufactures which make this life enjoyable, and of the beliefs which make the prospect of another comforting. At Frilford the relics of Roman manufacture, as well as other remains, show, as I have said, that a population must have existed there previously to the Saxon invasion, which was in the possession of a very considerable share of the material and other elements of the civilization of that period. The very name of this Romanized settlement has been lost, and the Saxon name Frilford, like that of Garford, a village a few hundred yards distant, may possibly speak, as the Rev. Isaac Taylor, in his *Names and Places*, has suggested with reference to Gateshead,^d to the destruction of a bridge by the worshippers of Frea. The name, indeed, seems to point to the same explanation as the great number of urns; and to suggest that the very real heathenism of the soldiers of Cerdic may have driven away a population who might have acquiesced in submission to such professed Christians as the soldiers of Clovis exhumed at Londinières. Such a story as that which Bede tells us^e of the refusal of the British priests to eat in company with the Saxons, even in his time, enables us to understand in what abhorrence the Christians must have held them in the days

^a Cochet, *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 188, ed. i.; *Comptes Rendus*, xxxvii. p. 518; *L'Athénæum Français*, Oct. 22, 1853, p. 1013.

^b *Op. cit.* p. 100.

^c *The English and their Origin*, pp. 59, *et seqq.*

^d See p. 266, 267. Gateshead, however, may mean *Capræ Caput*. See Bede *H. E.* iii. 21.

^e *H. E.* ii. 4, ii. 20.

of cremation.* Some Lloegrians, as the Triads tell us,^b "became as Saxons;" but many of the Celtic tribes, as their poems show us, preferred emigration to submission and coalescence. The large Romanized towns, no doubt, made terms with the Saxons, who abhorred city life,^c and who would probably be content to leave the unwarlike burghers in a condition of heavily-taxed submissiveness. The villages would be more exposed to the violence and lawlessness of hordes made insolent by conquest than the large towns; and I am inclined to think that where we find Roman remains succeeded by relics of the Anglo-Saxon cremation period, on a locality which now bears an Anglo-Saxon name, emigration or extirpation of a Christian population may have very often entered into the now irrecoverable history of the locality.

I further suspect that the heathenism of the Anglo-Saxon domination during the hundred and fifty years^d which elapsed between the time of Hengist and that of Augustine is one and not an unimportant factor in the complex aggregation of conditions which has given us the Germanic language which we speak. Whilst and where heathenism reigned supreme, the performance of the Church services would doubtless cease; and in an age of few books, and those in manuscript, and in a country which, with whatever centres of civilization and population, was, after all, but thinly peopled, it is easy to understand how the language of the vanquished succumbed in three or four generations to that of the victors, whose relics speak to their great numbers being so ubiquitously scattered over England. Even in France, where the Merovingians allowed every citizen to declare what law, Frank or Roman, he would live under, and where the priests used the Theodosian code, and so put the Germanic idiom at a disadvantage, it was still employed by the kings and nobles even in the Carolingian period.^e On the other

* See also *Crania Britannica*, p. 184, vol. i. and pl. xx. p. 3.

^b Pike, *op. cit.* p. 46.

^c See Pearson, *op. cit.* p. 264.

^d Professor Pearson, *History of England*, i. 101, suggests that the long duration of the struggle may have caused the victory of the Saxon Language, by allowing of the perpetual fresh arrivals of German speaking invaders.

^e See Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, ed. 1838, vi. 118, 351, 376, chap. 38, viii. 156. For an instance of the power obtained and exercised by the Christian Ministers, see Fleury, *Eccl. Hist.* viii. 34, 50, of the Council of Macon. Fleury in his small work, *Essays on Ecclesiastical History*, tells us, p. 203, English Transl. 1721, that the Goths, Franks, and other German people dispersed into several parts of the Roman Provinces, were so few in comparison with the ancient inhabitants that it was not thought necessary to change the language of the Church on their account. On the other hand, Bede tells us, that in his time God was served in five several languages in Britain, namely, Anglorum, Britonum, Scotorum, Pictorum, et Latinorum. See also Taylor, *Words and Places*, 1864, p. 151; Lingard, *Hist. A.-S. Church*, i. 307.

hand, during my somewhat considerable practice in the way of exhuming Saxons, and my gradual familiarization with the two facts of their great aptness at destroying and of their great slowness in elaborating material civilization, a doubt has little by little grown up in my mind as to the extent of the debt which we are so commonly supposed to owe to our Anglo-Saxon conquerors. That they conquered a much divided and not very numerous Romanized population of Christians, and overrun the greater part, if not the whole, of England Proper whilst yet heathens, and within the comparatively short space of time during which they remained such, proves, of course, that the Saxons were superior to the Britons in the arts of war as it was then understood and carried on. But though war in our days is very intimately dependent upon the arts of peace, proficiency in the one set of accomplishments was by no means so correlated with proficiency in the other fourteen hundred years ago. And though my investigations have made me a very firm believer in the reality of the Saxon "man and steel, the soldier and his sword," they have not revealed to me any convincing evidence of the importation into this country by these invaders of any such distinctive civilization as the language often held as to our "old Teutonic constitution," or "the landing of Hengist in Thanet having been the birthday of English liberty," would seem to pre-suppose. Civilization and culture are not wholly dependent upon material conditions, but I apprehend they cannot exist without giving us some material and tangible evidence of their existence, at all events *secundum statum præsentem*, of a very different kind from what we find in pre-Augustinian Anglo-Saxon interments in England. Mr. Merivale's dictum^a to the effect that "it may appear that moral culture is almost altogether independent of material progress," is too much out of keeping with the ordinarily-accepted views of the way in which the external world works upon human nature, *curis acuens mortalia corda*, to need discussion at length; and when Professor Pearson^b says "it would be unjust to judge the Teutonic tribes of the fifth century by the low development of the mechanical arts among them," we expect to have evidence of some other arts and pursuits having somehow or other attained to a compensatory high development amongst these races at that time. Guizot,^c it is well known, has compared the social and political condition of the Germanic races at this period of their history to that

But see Quest. Solihull, Vol.
Arch. Instit. 1851 for
sketch of Saxons in arts, as for
knowing - this is enough to
Gleeman's Song being all before
Christian Saxondom. p. 38

^a *Conversion of the Northern Nations*, p. 186.

^b See, however, his *History of England*, pp. 44, 51, 103, 112, 130, 264. The high development of the pictorial art to which Professor Westwood's magnificent work, recently (1868) published, speaks, belongs to Christianized, and therefore as little to "unalloyed Saxondom" as do Cædmon, Bede, or Alcuin.

^c *Hist. Civ. Franc.* lect. vii. tom. i. cit. Merivale, *ubi supra*, note G, p. 185.

of the Red Indians; and when we find Sharon Turner, the historian of the Anglo-Saxons, telling us^a that Ethelbert, after his conversion by Augustine, "became distinguished as the author of the first written Saxon laws which have descended to us, or which are known to have been established, an important national benefit for which he may have been indebted to his Christian teachers, as there is no evidence that the Saxons wrote any compositions before," we may be inclined to think that the views of Guizot are nearer to the truth than those of Ozanam,^b Greenwood, and Rogge.

We have historical, literary, archæological, and anatomical evidence for saying that two or more distinct varieties of men existed both in England and France, both previously to and during the periods of the Roman and of the Teutonic invasions and dominations.^c The earliest Welsh traditions, Professor Pearson informs me, speak "of the social races inhabiting Britain, the Kymry, the Lloegrwys, and the Brythons," all descended from the Kymry. The word "Kymry" itself, however, has been supposed, like the words "Frank" and "Aleman," to denote social or confederative, rather than genealogical, community; and, though we are warned thus *in limine* against any premature attempt

^a *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, i. 332. See also Taylor, *Words and Places*, p. 339, and *per contra*, Kemble, on Runes, *Archæologia*, xxviii. *But see Ellis's History of the Anglo-Saxons p. iv. v. Introductory to the*

^b Ozanam, however, *cit. Merivale*, l.c. 187, says, "Les lois de l'ancienne Germanie ne nous sont connues que par les témoignages incomplets des anciens, par la réduction tardive des codes barbares, par les coutumes du moyen âge. Il y reste donc beaucoup de contradictions, d'incertitudes, et de lacunes." Gibbon may be shown to be similarly self-contradictory by a comparison *inter se* of the following passages; vol. i. chap. ix. p. 362, ed. Milman, 1838; vol. vi. chap. xxxviii. p. 325; vol. v. chap. xxxi. p. 317. The stories told of the two Gothic Princes in the two latter passages are quite inconsistent with the statement contained in the first of the three, to the effect that "in the rude institutions of the barbarians of the woods of Germany, we may still distinguish the original principles of our present laws and manners." See Finlason's Introduction to Reeves' *History of the English Law*, 1869, p. xl.; and Professor Pearson's *Historical Maps*, 1869, where at p. vii. the Professor speaks of the Saxon invaders as consisting of "a few boat-loads of barbarians." I agree as to the barbarism, but differ as to the numbers of the Anglo-Saxons. Both these valuable works came into my hands after the coming of these sheets from the printers. See *per contra*, B. Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, preface, p. xxii.

^c Gibbon, v. 351, ed. 1838, says, "If the *princes* of Britain relapsed into barbarism whilst the *cities* studiously preserved the laws and manners of Rome, the whole island must have been gradually divided by the distinction of two national parties. See also Pearson, l.c. pp. 99, 100; Coote's *Neglected Fact in English History*, pp. 144, 149, 169; Skene's *Four Ancient Books of Wales*; Gododin, *Poems*, p. 382, 394, 412; Broca, *Recherches sur l'Ethnologie de la France*, Mem. Soc. Anthropol. de Paris, tom. i. 1860; Sir William R. Wilde, *Beauties of the Boyne*, pp. 229, 232; Dr. Thurman, "On the two principal forms of Ancient British and Gaulish Skulls," *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London*, vol. i. *ibique citata*; Huxley, *Prehistoric Remains of Caithness*, pp. 114, *seqq.*

But see Ellis's History of the Anglo-Saxons p. iv. v. Introductory to the History of A.S. History in Verulamium in 1880 A.

to harmonize the results of philological with those of craniographical inquiry, it may not be entirely hopeless to attempt to harmonise the traditions which tell us that the Romanised town populations, the "Lloegrians," took the side of the Saxons against their own countrymen, with the facts of our "finds" in cemeteries. Now, these facts, as they have presented themselves to me, I have, with the help of light borrowed from many other investigators, read thus. Two varieties of capacious crania, one dolichocephalic and the other brachycephalic, have been found by me in cemeteries referrible by their archæological characters to the periods corresponding with, and immediately subsequent to the close of the Roman domination in England. These two varieties of skulls are not ordinarily found occupying one and the same tumulus, at least with the relative positions which the remains of two races inhabiting the same district peacefully usually hold to each other, and I incline, though but doubtfully, to anticipate that evidence will be ultimately produced to identify the dolichocephali in question with the Lloegrian traitors, and the brachycephali with that portion of the Kymry which preferred exile to the Saxon yoke. The fact of the dolichocephali having been found abundantly (see p. 39, *supra*) in the Suffolk region of the Littus Saxonicum, where the Celt and Saxon are not known to have met as enemies when East Anglia became a kingdom, is not without its significance. Their geographical distribution may indicate a greater political pliability just as their greater variety of cranial conformation indicates a greater anatomical plasticity. In the same cemeteries with both of these varieties of skulls I have found skulls which are very closely similar to Professor Huxley's "River-bed" type of skull, and which I should be inclined to think may have belonged to a serf, or at all events to a poor, population, whose necessities may have made them as indifferent as any similar population is now to the political leanings of their masters. I should agree with Professor Huxley in considering this a very ancient form of cranium; but, though I should allow, with a knowledge of the great aptitude for modification possessed by the human cranium, that it may be connected by transitional forms with the dolichocephalic Celtic varieties,^a I am convinced that it is even more closely allied with that brachycephalic form which has been called "Ligurian" by Professor Nicolucci, which is identified with the "Disentis" type of Professors His and Rüttimeyer, by Dr. Holder in his excellent paper on the ethnography of Wurtemberg,^b though the Swiss Professors themselves would demur to this

^a As taught by Professor Huxley, *l.c.* p. 120; and *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* April 19, 1866.

^b *Arch. für Anthrop.* bd. ii. hft. i. 55-57.

This is Huxley's view as from p. 105
l.c.

unification; and which, finally, is, I apprehend, the form considered till recently^b by nearly all continental anthropologists as the oldest of European types. I am inclined to hold that the rough-hewn brachycephalous Briton, of whom Dr. Thurnam has written in his paper on "the two principal forms of ancient British and Gaulish skulls,"^c was distinct from the brachycephalous "Ligurian," though very possibly descended from one common stock; just as I should think it very probable that the cultured brachycephalous skulls of which I have spoken were produced simply by the operation of civilising influences upon the rougher crania of similar type, but of earlier times; and as I should suppose that Roman civilization and Roman inter-crossing elaborated the larger out of the smaller and earlier dolichocephalic skulls of this country. The five varieties which I believe may be thus distinguishable—viz., the two brachycephalous, and the two dolichocephalous, cultured and uncultured respectively, and the "Ligurian"—will be found to be connected with each other by inosculant forms. Even under conditions of the most primitive^d simplicity and peacefulness, the human cranium shows a great tendency to variation; and in England we must recollect that this essential liability to variation was much intensified in early times by the migrations and immigrations of the Belgæ from the continent; by those of the pastoral inhabitants of the then thinly peopled, forest-covered country; and in later times by those of the Romans and Saxons. Most or all invasions entail more or less of intermarriage between the invaders and the invaded; and the craniographer who considers what very motley hordes passed into England under the names "Roman" and "Saxon" respectively, and for what long periods these immigrations continued to be made, will be cautious as to his inferences. Other disturbing conditions were introduced by the invasions specified: among them I need only mention the establishment of an antithesis between town and country life, which, in a country intersected by woods and ill-provided with roads, is equivalent to the establishment of an antithesis between civilization and savagery. Isolation, howsoever produced, whether by social, by political, or by physical barriers, tends to exaggerate the ethnical or tribal characteristics which intercross-

^a See *Crania Helvetica*, p. 41; *Arch. für Anthropologie*, i. 70, 1866; Ecker, *Cran. Germ.* pp. 76-86; Huxley, *l.c.* pp. 117-118. *V. Baer, Bullet. Acad. Imp. St. Pétersb. vi. 1863. p. 352.*

^b For a discussion as to the priority in point of time of the brachycephalous or the dolichocephalous form of skull, see Mortillet, *Matériaux pour l'Histoire positive et Philosophique de l'Homme*, 1867, pp. 383-385; Ecker, *Crania German.* p. 93.

^c *On two forms*, *l.c.* p. 31-44.

^d See Bates, *Naturalist on the Amazons*, ii. p. 129, and *per contra*, Ecker, *Crania Germaniæ Meridionalis*, p. 2; Gratiolet, *Système Nerveux*, ii. 286.

ing tends to obliterate. But a subjective cause of much fallacy lies in the curiously corresponding psychological fact that one class of mind is as prone to overrate distinctions as another is to underrate differences.

In conclusion, I must be allowed to express my sense of the obligations I have incurred to Professor Phillips, whose advice and opinion I have very constantly sought; to Professor Pearson, whom I have consulted well nigh as frequently; to Heathcote Wyndham, Esq., M.A., Fellow of Merton College, who has given me assistance upon several chemical and mineralogical points which arose in the course of my investigations; to James Parker, Esq., for suggestions as to several archæological matters; and to Charles Robertson, Esq. for superintending these disinterments upon several occasions when I was unable to be present.

Catalogue of Frilford Excavations.

October and November, 1864.

I. SET.

Cranium A. Found with a fibula 2 ft. above it, wrongly described by me as a male skull in *Proc. Soc. Antiq.* 2 S. iii. 139. Probably an *Anglo-Saxon woman*. Middle-aged.

Cranium B. Found with a small Roman coin. Probably, from this and from anatomical characters, a *Romano-British woman*. Middle-aged. Elongated oval type.

Lower jaw from leaden coffin No. i. *Roman Man. C.* Middle-aged. In this leaden coffin a coin of Constantine the Great was found.

Calvarium E. Asymmetrical and with a partly open frontal suture. It is possible, though this calvarium came into my hands a month later than the lower jaw *C*, that it belonged to it. Mr. Akerman says (p. 3, *Proc. Soc. Ant. l.c.*) that the remains from the two coffins were handed over to me for examination.

Calvarium D. Incomplete. From a second leaden coffin. Middle-aged man. Capacious.

Fragments of second lower jaw, possibly belonging to calvarium *D.* *Skull of second set.*

Jan. 25, 1867.

II. SET.

i. *Skull* of "Hohberg" type of His and Rüttimeyer, with long and other bones, from a leaden coffin, in which were found five coins, one of which was of Constantine the younger, a second of Valens, and a third of Gratian, obiit A.D. 383. Femur 19½, humerus 13 9. Old man.

2 old men.
2 middle aged men.
2 middle aged women.
1 child.
—
7 bodies.

ii. *Skull* of "Sion" type of His and Rüttimeyer, with long and other bones, from a leaden coffin, in which no coins were found. Clavicle and second left metatarsal broken and repaired during life.

iii. *Coins* (some of which were lost in sending by post), and leaden coffins.

iv. *Plain urn*, figured in Plate XXIV. fig. 4, which contained the bones of a child probably 2 to 3 years old.

Cemetery at Frilford, Berks.

51 = 467

April 16, May 9, 16, 1867.

III. SET.

- i. *Skull of old man*, of "Sion" or globose Romano-British type. Skull circumference, 22½ ins. Femur, 20½ ins. Tibia, 15½ ins. Height, 6 ft. 1 in.
- ii. *Skull of young woman*, of "enlarged River-bed type," see p. 40, *supra*, with some osteophytic deposit internally, æt. 20 to 25. Humerus, 10.3 ins. Tibia, 11.7 ins. Stature, circa 4 ft. 6 in.
- iii. *Lower jaw, and frontal bone, platycephalic*, said to have been found with umbo No. v. Old man.
- iii. *Second lower jaw*, also said to have been found with umbo. Very old man.
- iv.
- v. *Umbo*, reported to have been found with jaws iii. and iii.¹ but in the grave in which the umbo was reported to have been found a secondary interment was supposed to have taken place, a tibia and femur having been observed in it lying with their relative positions reversed.
- vi. *Calvarium of young woman*, of "enlarged River-bed type," with cephalic index 77, and some leaning towards the smaller type on the one side, as well as to the globose Romano-British male skull vi. of Sept. 1867, on the other. It resembles skulls vi. of April 1, 1868, and xi. of same date, and very possibly may be the female form of the Romano-British globose type. It is mainly in length that these female skulls are inferior to the smaller male skulls of the "Sion" type. N.B.—8 millimètres is the average excess of male length. Femur, 13 ins. Humerus, 10 ins. Mean stature from these two bones, 4 ft. 2.5 ins. A phalanx of an ox and a piece of pottery were sent with this skull. This skull was found very near an infant's.
- vi. *Child about time of birth*.
- vii. *Skull of very old man*, of Romano-British elongated type. Humerus, 13.2 ins. Radius, 9.2 ins. Exostotic growths on humerus. Stature, 5 ft. 10 ins.
- viii. *Skull of strong young man*, of Romano-British elongated type. No long bones.
- viii. *Skull of child*, first dentition, middle period of.
- ix. *Bones of child*, first dentition, early period of.
- ix. *Bones of child*, first dentition, early period of.
- x. *Skeleton of young man* of globose Romano-British type, very similar to skull ix. of March 17, 1868. Found with fragments of Roman pottery. Femur, 17 ins. Humerus, 12.5 ins. Radius, 9.2 ins. Ulna, 10.1 ins. Stature, 5 ft. 4 ins. Some carious teeth.
- xi. *Skull of young woman*, of Romano-British elongated type.
- xi. *Skull of young woman*, (?) of Romano-British globose type.
- xi. *Skull of young man* (?) Type (?).
- xii. *Calvarium of young woman*, of Romano-British elongated type, with osteophyte internally. Much water-worn, teeth all good but one, which is carious.
- xiii. *Skull and long bones of young Anglo-Saxon woman*, from a shallow 18-in. grave running from west by south to east by north, the deviation from orientation being 18° north. Two fibulæ, four or five beads, and the fragment of an urn figured Plate XXIV. fig. 1. Femur, 17 ins. Tibia, 13 ins. Stature, 5 ft. 4 ins. A piece of Anglo-Saxon and another of Roman pottery found in this grave, of small size.

Compare skull from Roman Cemetery at Colchester, near the old Mill, Colchester.

4 old men.
6 young women.
1 infant.
3 children.
2 young men.
1 doubtful.
17 bodies.

13. 2

III. SET.

- on kneeling women of Cracium
the Gallia Saxonis of Med. p. 96.
Walt. Museum. Anatomia. 1805
p. 146. D. D. Cat. Lib. 3145.
Surgeon. Vol. v. Br. 3145.*
- xiv. *Skull of old man*, of "Hohberg" type, with the long bones. A large wound through skull, healed during life. Grave 3 ft. 6 in. deep, without relics, running in a direction from N.W. to S.E. Femur 20 in. long. Stature 6 ft. All the molars of upper jaw are lost. In the lower jaw the two anterior molars are left. Some teeth are carious; they are small in size. The grave was immediately on the right of that of the Anglo-Saxon woman xiii.
- xv. *Skull of Romano-British woman*, with long bones, from a grave of same direction but not quite the same depth as the preceding—2 ft. 9 in. Femur, 16 in. Humerus, 11½ in. Stature, 5 ft. A good instance, as is also xiii. of Sept. 26, 1868, xxiv. of Feb. 21, 1868, and cranium A of Oct. 1864, of the close adherence to type which female skulls, especially of the elongated Romano-British type, show.
- xvi. *Skull of very old man*, 1⅞ inch thick, of elongated British type, with sagittal furrow posteriorly. No relics.
- xvii. *Patterned cremation urn*, containing bones of child before period of second dentition. Fig. 3, Pl. XXIV.
- xviii. *Plain urn*, containing the bones of a person about the period of puberty. Fig. 2, Pl. XXIV. *in the direction of perfection.*
- xix. *Skull of woman*, middle-aged, of elongated Romano-British type. Charred matter and pottery, and carious teeth from the grave. Femur, 16 in. Stature, 5 ft.
- xx. *Bones of child* under 6 years.
- xxi. *Skull of young person* with abnormal succession of teeth. Spongy growths in orbits and hypertrophic calvarium. Reported to have been found with two pieces of blackish pottery and a nail. *? Made in. 339, 338. 342.*
- xxii. *Skull of young man*, of "Hohberg" type, wanting jaws. Femur, 18.3 in. Stature, 5 ft. 11 in. Sent with pieces of pseudo-Samian ware.
- xxiii. *Skull of male*, of "Sion" type. Massive, weighty. Belonged to a man past middle period of life. Many teeth lost, both before and after death.
- xxiv. *Skull of young person, probably woman*. Fragmentary, without history.
- xxv. Ditto ditto. Teeth carious.
- xxvi. *Lower jaw of old person*, with six teeth.
- xxvii. *Bones of old woman*, Dec. 31, 1867. Elongated British type. Femur, 15 in. Stature, 4 ft. 8 in. Coffin hooping and nails found in grave.
- xxviii. Fragments of an urn of Anglo-Saxon ware, said to have been found with a burnt bone, Dec. 31, 1867.

1 old woman.
3 old men.
1 old person, sex?
3 young women.
2 young persons, sex?
1 young man.
2 children.
1 Middle-aged woman.
—
14 bodies.

September 16, 17, 18, 1867.

IV. SET.

- i. *Calvarium and bones of old woman* from a grave running from N.N.W. by N.W. to S.S.E. by S.E. 3 ft. 2 in. deep down to the coralline oolite. A burnt flint, some pseudo-Samian ware, and some gray lathe-turned pottery, were found in the grave with her. Femur, 16½ ins. Radius, 8½ ins. Stature, 5 ft. 1½ in. Of enlarged "River-bed" type. Lower jaw nearly destroyed by water-wear.
- ii. *Similar calvarium from continuation of same trench*. "Cylindrocephalic" female skull. Stature, 5 ft. 4 ins. Femur, 17 ins.
- iii. *Skull and long bones of young man of elongated British type*, from continuation of same trench.

- A sheep's tooth close by his jaws, and two flints. Stature, 5 ft. 10 ins. Right fibula a good deal curved, epiphyses not fused. IV. SET.
- iv. *Skull of young Anglo-Saxon*, found with spear, figured Plate XXIII. fig. 6, and umbo. The spear at right side of head with point upwards. This had been a secondary interment, the upper jaw of a very old man (iv¹.) having been found close to this skull, as also a manubrium sterni with articular facet for first left rib much enlarged, which could not have belonged to this skeleton. The grave was broader than the others, and had large stones set along its sides. Its direction was W.N.W. to E.S.E.
- iv¹. *Upper jaw of old person, probably male*. Sternum and large head of humerus and os calcis with it.
- v. *Skull of very old man*, with skeleton, from continuation of trench whence the Anglo-Saxon No. iv. came. The direction of the grave the same, but no relics nor any stones set around it. Skull like iv. and xi. of March 17, and i. of March 23, 1868. A mixed form combining the Hohberg with the Sion type. Can these skulls have belonged to Christian Anglo-Saxons? See p. 32, *supra*. Femur, 18 ins. Stature, 5 ft. 8 ins.
- vi. *Skull of old man* of "Sion" type found with skeleton at a depth of 15 inches below the patterned urn ix. figured in Plate XXIII. fig. 1, the urn occupying a space corresponding with the top of the sacrum of the skeleton below. Skull bones a little roughened by water-wear, but also strongly made, and indicating, as do the other bones also, both age and great strength by their various outstanding processes. Ceph. index, 78. Stature, 5 ft. 8 ins. Found with several pieces of flint and with pieces of pottery.
- vii. *Skeleton of very old man*, of elongated Romano-British type. A typical skull such as No. 5709 in Royal College of Surgeons, which belonged to an "ancient aboriginal inhabitant of Scandinavia regarded as the Celt;" and called "dolichocephalic by the donor Professor Retzius." Found in a trench between the trench with skeleton No. vi. in it to the south, and the one with the Anglo-Saxon No. iv. in it to the north. Femur, 19½ ins. Stature, 5 ft. 11 ins. Osseous up-growth of acetabulum, and hypertrophy of head of femur to correspond. Cephalic index, 72.
- viii. *Young woman*, æt. 17 to 19, from trench in same direction, but to south of others, dug Sept. 1867, and to north of trench containing Romano-British woman, xv. of May, 1867. Found with flints and shards.
- ix. *Urn* found above skeleton vi. figured in Plate XXIII. fig. 1, containing bones of child under 8.
- x. Fragment of probably a *holy-water vessel*, figured in Plate XXIII. fig. 2.
- About 4 ft. of ground had fallen in to the right of the pit, looking towards the River Ock.

2 old women.
1 young woman.
4 old men.
2 young men.
1 child.

10 bodies.

January 9, 1868.

- i. *Child's bones*, between 9 and 10 æt. Many fragments of scoriform lava, probably Niedermennig, (Daubeny, *Volcanos*, p. 50); no other relics brought with it; compare Wylie, *Fairford Graves*, p. 24, and account of Anglo-Saxon woman, xxii. Jan. 6, 1869. (Cf. Schaafhausen, *Die Germanische Grabstätten am Rhein*, 1868, p. 122, and p. 25, *supra*.)
- ii. and iii. *Young women* (20, 23) placed close, side by side, in the same trench. ii. a little shallower than iii. and a little further forward, and with the left humerus across the cervical region of iii. Roman pottery and nails. The legs of the two skeletons were wide apart. The iron

relics (nails) were found on the pelvis. No nails near the feet. Probably buried at same time; coffins in same trench.

- iii^a. *Delicate unpatterned urn* with child's bones, about 6 in. below the surface, and 18 in. above skull No. iv.; the place about a yard to the right of the place where the patterned urn of September 17, 1867, was found. Child's age towards the end of 5-6th year. See Plate XXIII. fig. 5.

- iv. *Old woman's skull*, much senile atrophy, found 18 in. below urn iii^a with face upwards. No soil had fallen into the skull; one coin, the largest, was found on lower jaw; two smaller ones on atlas and axis, which are stained in consequence. Coins not identified. One nail was found on the right side of the head, but none on the right, nor at the feet. All the bones are very light. Humerus, 10 7-10 in. Femur, 14.5 in. gives stature 4 ft. 6 in.; humerus (say 11 in.) gives stature 4 ft. 10.6 in.; mean 4 ft. 8.3 in. skull small, cylindrocephalic.

- v. *Skull of a child*, removed by the men. Close by was found a piece of lead, possibly from a leaden coffin, and with the bones an ulna, which had belonged to a very powerful man, which had been part of a fractured segment repaired during life. Compare account given p. 36, *supra*, of skeletons from leaden coffins. First dentition complete; second not begun.

January 15, 1868.

- vi. *Strong urn*, not patterned, containing child's bones. Removed by men from earth a little to right of No. i. of Jan. 9. Aged probably about 9-10. Premolars not displaced; milk molars.
- vii. *Child's bones*, a little to right of urn vi. Early period of first dentition.
- viii. *Child's bones* under 6, at extreme left of "fall," i.e. of mass of earth thrown down in quarrying operations. Removed by men.
- ix. *Young man*, with nails and Roman pottery, nails at head and feet. Elongated British type.
- x. *Child*, much decayed. Early period of first dentition.
- xi. *Calvarium, man*, middle age, with pot and flint. Long bones much water-worn. Elongated British type. No lower nor upper jaw.
- xii. *Old man*. Face upwards, and left arm across body. About middle of "fall" and to right of viii. and xi. Elongated British type, but vertically carinate like the preceding specimen. The crossing of the arms may point to his being an Anglo-Saxon. See xxii., Jan. 6, 1869.
- xiii. *Old woman*. Calvaria and femora, 16.7 in. Osteophytes and pacchionian pits. Waterworn. "Sion" type. Compare vi. of April 1, 1868; xi. of April 1, 1868; vi. of May, 1867.
- xiv. *Old woman*. Skeleton sent by carrier. Right humerus, 11.7; left, 11.2. Femur, 13.4. Anglo-Saxon woman.

January 20, 1868.

- xv. *Knife*, with much rust and (?) woody fibre adhering to it. Found close to xii. in the loose earth which had fallen to the bottom of the pit. Could this knife have belonged to the little old woman, xiv.? see skull, which is much more like that of the Anglo-Saxon woman xiii. of May, 1867.
- xvi. *Urn*, a little to the left of the knee of xiii. of January 15. *The urn unopened.*
- xvii. *Skeleton of woman (young)*. Her tibiae were 1 ft. beneath the humerus of an Anglo-Saxon, xviii., who was lying in a direction from S. S.W. to N. N.W. and at right angles to

For similar atrophy see *Paleo. Catal.*
Infant Univ. Museum. 22.3.2.24.
also see. Abnora. Schadel. 7.6.
211 a 212. & 213. 161 cat. and Roki
Lensky's Osteology. Eng. Trans. 4.1.14.
213. Vithous. Eng. Abhand. p. 1000.
average. Pale. Soc. Catal. ii. Ser. Vol. 4. 1870
1. 3 children.
2. 3 women, 1 old.
3. 2 young.
4. 6 bodies.

4 children.
 1 young man.
 1 middle-aged man.
 1 old man.
 2 old women.
 9 bodies.

471
55

Cemetery at Frilford, Berks.

her grave, which was in the ordinary Romano-British direction from W.N.W. to E.S.E. In the intersection of the graves a beautiful coin of Constans was found. Left radius injured during life and repaired. Both humeri malformed. With this came part of upper jaw of old person, with three teeth from canines inclusive backwards, of elongated Romano-British type. Stature, 4 ft. 11 in.

1 young woman.
1 age and sex uncertain.
—
2 bodies.

February 8, 1868.

- xviii. *Anglo-Saxon young man*, with umbo, spear, knife (no buckle), Roman tiles, stones round grave; coin of Constans in intersection of his grave with that of xvii.; some animal's (sheep?) bones in grave (see Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, introd. p. xvii.); grave from head S. S.S.W. to N. N.N.E.; foot at right angles to grave xvii. 2 ft. deep; xvii. 3 ft. A tooth of ox between head of Anglo-Saxon and feet of Romano-British woman. Femora only partially recovered, a large stone over their lower ends having crushed them very much. Fragments of great size. Clavicles long and curved. Humerus, 13.1; radius, 9.3. For Roman tilings, see *Archiv für Anthropologie*, i. 3, 356; (See xxii. of Jan. 6, 1869).
- xix. *Man, strong, beyond middle of life, probably*. Head of River-bed type, parietal protuberance. Ribs broken and repaired in life; abscess at root of one molar. A good deal of exostosis on left humerus. Copper staining on jaw, and clavicle. No nails found with body. Romano-British direction of grave. See page 42, *supra*.
- xx. *Skull of middle-aged man*, with Roman tile. Very elongated, with long bones. Bones loose. Skull peculiarly elongated.
- xxi. *Skull of young man*, found with vertebra of ruminant in grave, and a fragment of pottery. Diseased hip. This cranium has some approximation to the modern form of English crania, and resembles herein crania No. v. of Sept. 1867, cranium xi. and iv. of March 17, and cranium No. i. of March 23, 1868.

2 young men.
1 aged.
1 middle-aged.
—
4 bodies.

February 21, 1868.

- xxii. *Old Romano-British man*, large skull with long bones. Copper stain on left ulna, immediately to N.E. of grave of xviii. so that the Roman tiles found in taking out the skeleton were supposed to belong to this skeleton. A good deal of charcoal and decayed wood was found near the head, but not near the legs nor pelvis. Of elongated type. Femur, 18.4; ulna, 10.3. The man, however, who took out the tiles supposed them to belong to Anglo-Saxon No. xviii. In the cases described by Wanner (*Das Alemannische Todtenfeld bei Schleithelm*, 1867, p. 13, 16; *Archiv für Anthropol.* ii. 3, p. 356), Roman tiling was similarly employed. In some cases the graves were, as here, so close as to have only a single tile as a wall between them. See xxii. of Jan. 6, 1869.
- xxiii. *Old woman* (? old man). Skull and long bones. Femur, 17; humerus, 12.2; radius, 8.9; ulna, 9.5; stature, 5.4. This is a very old skeleton, and I think the sex may be doubtful, but it is probably, from lower jaw's muscular markings, a male. The forehead is vertical, but perhaps abnormally; the vertex is carinate. Globose type.
- xxiv. *Skull of old woman*, with five coins; one of Valens, and one of Constans I. Flint, ball-shaped, chipped. Flat flint and Roman pottery. Femur, 15.6; tibia, 12.4; radius, 8.4. Lower jaw nearly destroyed by water-wear. Elongated type.
- xxv. *Man, prime of life*. Frontal suture patent.

1 child, 1st dent.
complete.
1 infant.
2 men, prime of life.
2 old men.
1 old woman.
1 old, doubtful of which
sex, prob. male.
1 young person, 18-20.
—
9 bodies, counting
xxvi. as two.

xxvi. *Fragmentary cranium of old person*; bones of young person of eighteen to twenty wrongly assigned to it.

xxvii. *Long calvarium*, man prime of life. Lower jaw a good deal water-worn, and the long bones lost, perhaps destroyed, by decay.

xxviii. *Infant*.

xxix. *Child*, first dentition complete.

Ure label F. 21. 30 a few fragments of Anglo-Saxon pottery which when fitted together make up the bottom of an urn with old bones
March 4, 1868.

i. *Skeleton of Romano-British woman*, adult, of globose type, like No. xi. of April 1, 1868. Skull larger and more strongly made than most female skulls, and a nearer approximation to male skulls of same type. Teeth considerably worn; no wisdom teeth developed. Orthognathous, with posterior sagittal furrow. Femur, 16.2; tibia, 13.4; humerus, 11.2; stature, 5 ft. 8-10 in.

1 adult woman.

March 17, 1868.

i. *Skull*, with long bones and patellæ, of a *very strong young man*, buried with fragments of Roman pottery, black and red, and nail, with wood adhering to it, from coffin. Femur, 18.5; humerus, 13.3. Skull, flat and broad, to be reconstructed. Hyoid fully ossified. Elongated type.

ii. *Skull of old man*, with femur, and tibiæ, and nails near head. Of elongated, flat type. Large. Very large bones. Femur, 18.9.

iii. *Skull of young woman*, with long leg-bones and patellæ; short stature; teeth carious; and abscess in alveolar processes. Elongated type. Lower jaw all but destroyed by water-wear.

iv. *Skull of adult man*. No femora; no lower jaw; carious teeth. Skull high and long, but not delicate, though possessing transverse post-coronal depression. (Compare skull v. of Sept. 1867, and skull i. March 23, 1868.) No femora were found with it; the skeleton having been thrown down in a "fall" during the quarrying operations.

v. *Skull of young Anglo-Saxon woman*, very much contorted and distorted by post-mortem pressure, found in a grave 2 ft. 4 in. deep, with six beads, some near head, some over chest, perforated, of various sizes, of blue spongy glass, striated concentrically; fibula on either shoulder of flat shape, circumference gimped, and immediately within a circle of stamped round depressions, diameter, 1.3, of much the same pattern, but not quite, nor of quite same weight as another fibula of uncertain date and place from this cemetery; of quite different pattern from the two other sorts of fibulæ found here, though of same general shape, flat, as fibulæ of xiii. May, 1867. A skewer-shaped bronze pin, 4 in. on the left breast; a knife, 3 in. long, near the waist. For pin fastening shroud, see *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 71, pl. xxxv. fig. 5; *Archæologia*, xxxv. 477. The direction of the grave was not quite that of the Romano-British, viz. W.N.W. to E.S.E. but was very nearly this, running, as it did, from a little to the north of W.N.W. to a little to the south of E.S.E. There was some Roman pottery in the grave, animals' bones, an ox tooth, an oyster-shell, and a flint. The skull and the other bones are much water-worn. But we can see that the skull is small and short, that the nasals rose from a level with the glabella, which was little prominent, though underlaid, as also the similarly low superciliary ridges, by sinuses. The parietal tubera are fairly marked, the minimum frontal diameter apparently very small, 3.7 in. though it may have

been diminished by compression, the same minimum frontal being 3.9 in. in each of the two other Anglo-Saxon women from Frilford. The interior of the skull has the smooth polished appearance characteristic of youth. The wisdom-tooth in the right half of the lower jaw is very small, and not at all worn. The premolars are also little used comparatively to the two true molars, though more than the third molar. The chin seems to have been emarginated unusually below, but to have been fairly pronounced. The upper jaw, judging from a small portion of the right side, must have been slightly prognathous. None of the teeth are carious. There is copper staining on some of the ribs, the clavicle of the left, and the humerus of the right side.

- vi. *Patterned urn.* Probably a holy-water vessel, with characteristic bosses. Found a little to the south of the grave of Anglo-Saxon woman No. v. It was about 4 in. from the surface of the ground with its top edge, which had escaped the plough; its bottom was about 6½ in. Close to this urn or holy-water vessel was a mass of *infant skull bones*, the child having been about (before or after) the time of natural birth. It is possible that the diggers of the Anglo-Saxon woman's grave may have disturbed this urn in digging the grave, and having broken the urn may have reinterred it in fragments, and its contents apart from the fragments. A plain fragment, which does not appear to have belonged to the patterned fragment, was also found at some little distance from the patterned urn and the baby bones. And it is again possible that the child may have been deposited in the urn of which this latter fragment was a part. But I incline to think this was not the case, as the child's bones do not bear marks of fire; and though the Roman rule expressed in the words "minor igne rogi" (*Juv.* 15, 149; *Plin.* vii. 16) may not apply to an Anglo-Saxon interment, these bones may have belonged to a still-born child, for which no urn would probably have been used.
- vii. *Skull and some long bones, imperfect, of young woman*, wisdom teeth not through. A piece of grey spongy pottery; no other relics. Romano-British direction, W.N.W. to E.S.E.
- viii. *Skull and long bones of child of 8 years*, with two pieces of Roman pottery.
- viii. *Skull and some long bones of old man.* Skull both globose and elongated. Humerus roughened at point of origin and insertion of muscles.
- ix. *Skull and long bones of old woman (? very old man)*, with Roman pottery. Skull of type of x. May, 1867. Femur, 16.3; tibia, 13.2; humerus, 11.4; stature, 5 ft. 1 in. It is doubtful, I think, whether this skull may not be a very old man's. The lower jaw shows great marks of old age. The straight clavicles point the other way. Of "Sion" type.
- x. *Skull with long bones, of young woman*, possibly Christian Anglo-Saxon. This skull was sent by the men, but without relics. The type seems to be that of Anglo-Saxon woman xiii. May, 1867, and of woman, 771 m. Oxford University Museum (see p. 31, *supra*), from Helmingham. The wisdom teeth are, though little worn, very small in upper jaw. The jaw prognathic. Some little doubt as to sex from slope of forehead and parietes and large mastoids, but, nearly certainly, female. Femur, 15 in.; stature, 4 ft. 8 in. (1.51) by 4=56; tibia, 11.5; fibula, 11.2; ulna, 8.3; radius, 7.5; humerus, 10.4. The cervical vertebrae, from 7th onwards, having been impacted into the interior periphery of the lower jaw, it is probable the head was raised when the body was buried, and hence that this may have been an Anglo-Saxon interment. With this skull compare skull 5712 D, Royal

Figured Pl. xxiii fig. 3.

La Saxon Obsequies p. 9.

Skull had inside it some few fragments of bones which may have belonged to the child

1 infant.
1 child of 8
4 young women.
3 old men.
1 adult man.
2 young men.
—
12 skulls.

College of Surgeons, which belonged to an Anglo-Saxon woman from Brighthampton, and No. xiii. of Sept. 26, 1868, *infra*.

- xi. *Strong young man*, with long bones. Protuberance on right parietal. Buried with nail. Wisdom teeth either not coming or retarded. Second molars little worn. Compare skull ix. *supra* and vii. Sept. 1867. Taken out of grave by the workmen, as also No. x.

March 23, 1868.

- i. *Young woman*, æt. 17-18, no relics. Buried in grave running W.N.W. to E.S.E. Good skull of modern well-developed European type. Ceph. Index, 78. Height, 5 ft. 4 ins. Humerus, 11.9 ins. Femur, 17 ins. Skull 7 ins. long, 5.4 ins. broad, circumference 19.6 ins. Compare skulls vii. of Sept. 1867, and xi. and iv. of March 17, 1868, for somewhat similar conformation. Can these skulls have belonged to Christian Anglo-Saxons? See p. 32, *supra*.
- ii. *Old woman*, skull and long bones. Romano-British direction. No relics. Sutures much obliterated. Exostoses in antrum maxillare. Extreme length of skull, 7 ins. The roots had reached into its interior. Vertical forehead. Elongated type. Femur, 15.5 ins.
- ii. *Child*, with first permanent molar not through, at a short distance from ii.; a fragment of pottery, Romano-British, with it.
- iii. *Skull of strong adult man*, with no long bones. Of broad platycephalic type. Teeth small, considerably worn, one carious. A nail found with bones. The skull was full of the small mollusc, *Achatina acicula*.
- iv. *Skull with long bones, very perfect, of very strong adult man*, found with Roman tile and Romano-British pottery. Femur, 18.8 ins. Humerus, 13.8 ins. Radius, 9.9 ins. Ulna, 11 ins. 5 ft. 11 ins. stature. Of globose type.

1 young woman.
1 old woman.
1 child.
2 adult men.
—
5 skulls.

April 1, 1868.

- i. *Young Anglo-Saxon man*, lying with head at N.N.E. and foot at S.S.W. the very reverse of the compass-points held by the head and foot respectively of Anglo-Saxon xviii. of Feb. 8, 1868, and of Anglo-Saxon women of May, 1867. The body was thrown down in the "fall" of the quarry, and was described as "not being in a grave, but lying above and at right angles to the other graves." There was a buckle 1½ in. long on the pelvis, (cf. *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 58, *Tombeau de Childeric*, p. 234,) and adhering to it some coarse flax fabric, as proved by the microscope. This skeleton has the left radius and ulna bronze-stained, and in the neighbourhood into which the bones were thrown a spear-head with a central raised ridge, like the assagaye of the Hottentots, *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 10, an umbo and a knife were found. These latter the workmen thought belonged to a child, i^a. which occupied a grave in the ordinary Romano-British bearing, but it is much more probable that they belonged to this skeleton, which had an Anglo-Saxon buckle upon its pelvis, and from which, in the wrench and jerk of the fall, the umbo and knife may very readily have been dislocated. The diameter of the umbo was 6.2 ins., height 2.8 ins., lesser circumference 14.4 ins. There were four broad-headed rivets on the broad periphery, with three eyelet-holes between each pair. Its type was therefore the ordinary one found here. This umbo was exchanged for one in the possession of the Aldworth family. The skull appears after

reconstruction to have been of the platycephalic ovoidal Anglo-Saxon type. Cf. *Crania Britannica*, Plate XLVI. and plate added in description of Plate IX.

- i.^a *Child*, probably boy of about 12.
- ii. *Skull of old woman*, with Anglo-Saxon ornaments, such as are described p. 70 of *Pagan Saxondom*, and figured Plate xxxv. fig. 4; and *Fairford Graves*, Plate IX. fig. 10; *Cran. Brit.* Plate XX. p. 5; and Brighthampton, *Archæolog.* xxxvii. No. i. 38; No. xvi. in Ashmolean Museum; and with fibulæ such as are figured at fig. i. in Plate XVIII. *Pagan Saxondom*, as found near Rugby. The body lay in a grave running from W.S.W. to E.N.E. not an unusual bearing for an Anglo-Saxon here. The grave was 27 ins. deep. Stains of green on left clavicle and right rib i., the pins on the ring having been on the left shoulder, and the fibulæ one on each shoulder. The fibulæ are similar, also, to the two figured by Mr. Akerman in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxxix. Plate XI. figs. 8 and 9, as found at Long Wittenham. *Femur 17.2. Ilium 5.2. Tibia 12.4*
- iii. *Skull and femur and patella of old man*, dug out of a grave with Romano-British bearings, and from under an urn, iii^a. containing burnt bones of an adult. A nail was found in the grave with this old man. Skull eminently globose. Femur, 18.8 ins. Stature, 5 ft. 11 ins. Lower jaw nearly destroyed by water-wear.
- iii^a. *Urn* not reconstructed, plain, containing *adult bones*. It had a flat stone on the top of it.
- iii^b. *Plain urn*, with two bosses each on opposite sides, not pushed out from the inside, but stuck on to the outside, containing burnt bones of an adult. *Pl. xxv. 2.*
- iv. *Man past middle-life*. Skull of globose type with some of long bones. In a very much deeper grave than usual, 40 in. deep, in usual Romano-British direction, from W.N.W. to E.S.E. Many nails in grave with the bones, with wood, probably oak, adherent. A fragment of old Roman pottery, the bottom of an urn, in grave. Femur, 18.18; tibia, 14.8. Stature, 5.11. *cf. Burgh III. 3. Graves & Series*
- v. *Skull of child*, with two amber beads, 6½ years old. Came from last grave but one on right side, as did also the skeleton No. ix. which had a coin with it, and also osteophytes internally in skull.
- vi. *Skull with a few broken long bones of old woman*, very like a modern Swiss skull, 768 B, in Oxford Museum, with a cephalic index of 82. The oblique dip away of the posterior half of the parietal makes its distinctive character from the Anglo-Saxon xiii. of May 1867, and the skull xiv. of Jan. 16, 1868. It is shorter and broader than the River-bed type, but its longitudinal arc has the same contour. Again, No. vi. of 1867, with cephalic index 79, resembles it very much, and by vi. of May 1867, we pass to vi. of Sept. 17, 1867, with cephalic index 78, and to the female skull or calvarium xi. April 1, 1868, xiii. Jan. 15, 1868.
- vii. *A child's skull* removed by the men. First dentition only.
- viii. *Young woman 25 to 30, skull and long bones*, found near child with two amber beads. Skull of Romano-British, elongated, coronally-constricted type. See *Crania Britannica*, Plate LVIII. Wisdom-teeth not through the gum, though the crista is ankylosed to the ilium.
- ix. *Skull of woman 25 to 30*, found with a coin which is lost, and in last grave but one on right side, whence came the child with the two amber beads. Osteophytes on inner surface of skull. Femur, 16.5 in.; tibia, 13.6 in. Stature 5 ft. 2 in.
- x. *Fragments of skull of old person, probably female*, no history; found in "fall" with fragments of Roman pottery; skull of platycephalic type with the posterior sagittal "rainure," supposed to characterize Celts and Scandinavians. See *Bull. Soc. Anthropol. de Paris*, 1863, p. 319; 1864, p. 283. Internally, in correspondence with this, is a very deep furrow for the longitudinal sinus; showing of course that the bottom of the two furrows outside and inside the skull corresponds to a line of arrested growth, and that the skull has grown out on either side

For account of Roman Burial Pit see *Archæologia xxxii. p. 350*
 p. 451. *Atkinson on Stone*
 iv. p. 394. *Evans, citing Poole's note on Pickborough p. 55*
 ix. p. 498. *Tite*
 xl. p. 60. *Lewis*.

60 = 476

Excavations in an ancient

in the case and to the contracting in the other

2 old men.
 2 adults ♀ &
 1 young man.
 1 boy 12.
 3 children.
 4 old women.
 2 young women.
 15 bodies.

in lines of the parietal tubera, to fit itself to the growing brain. In other skulls, as for example, skull No. ii. of March 23, 1868, this parietal vallecule on the exterior corresponds with raised ridge along the line of the longitudinal sinus. See *Cambridge Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, iii. 253, 1868. *The frontal bone is of great thickness obtained by a junction to the*

- xi. Skull and long bones of old woman? from extreme right of quarry; of globose Romano-British type, resembling skull No. vi. of Sept. 1867, and vi. of April 1, 1868, and vi. of April, 1867. Femur, 14.5 in. Stature, 4 ft. 6 in.
- xii. Child with first set of teeth—removed by me, Romano-British direction of grave.

September 24, 1868.

- i. Key of Roman type . . .
- ii. Stag's-horn hair pin . . .
- iii. Bronze ring . . .
- iv. Two knives . . .
- v. Spoon . . .
- vi. Coin-shaped Kimmeridge shale . . .

The excavations on this day were carried on upon two patches of ground which Mr. Aldworth had observed to have stronger and greener corn growing upon them than was to be seen elsewhere. Great quantities of the bones of the domestic animals, exclusive of the horse but including the dog, were found, together with the articles specified and numbered. No human remains were observed however. These spots appear to have been the rubbish-pits of some house of a person of considerable wealth, an "eques." See Pearson, *History of England*, i. 45; and Coote, *Neglected Fact in English History*, pp. 40—45, *cit. in loco*.

- vii. Coin. One of the many coins imitated from Roman originals in 5th and 6th centuries. Very common in England.
- viii. Pottery of very many patterns and degrees of fineness, from very fair and fine Samian down to very coarse ware. Some of both bestudded interiorly with particles of silex; some with pattern very like that of the Anglo-Saxon urn. See Bruce, *Roman Wall*, p. 438; A. Corbet's *Uriconium*, p. 63. *See Silchester Pl. xlviii. fig. 1. Pl. xli. figs 5 & 6. pp. 32-33.*

September 25, 1868.

- ix.¹ Anglo-Saxon girl, with two plain bronze fibulæ, in a grave from 18 in. to 24 in. deep, lying over Romano-British woman (vi) of Sept. 26, *infra* p. 61). The skeleton's upper half ran from W.N.W. to E.S.E.; but the lower half of the body was twisted at an obtuse angle to the upper half, and lay from N.N.E. to S.S.E. This distortion probably accounts for the displacement of one of the fibulæ from the right shoulders on to the manubrium sterni. Towards the lower end of this grave a beautiful coin was found, Byzantine, 4th century. Decentius. Many bones brought of a child of 9 æt. For the view that men had only one fibula and women two, see L'Abbé Cochet, *Tombeau de Childeric*, ed. 2^{de}. 1859, p. 228. Can this distorted position correspond to the "contraction from the hips" described by Canon Greenwell, at Kirby-under-Dale, *Times*, 1841?
- x.² Skeleton of a child, 12 to 14 months, from a grave running from W.N.W. head to E.S.E. foot. The depth of skeleton was 23 in.
- xi.³ Skeleton of child, 6 to 7, found lying immediately above xii.⁴ in a grave with bearings W. for head, E. for feet. There was a large stone at its head, and in the grave were three pieces of Roman pottery, one beautifully patterned, and a horse's tooth. First true molar just coming into place. Could this child have been a Christian Anglo-Saxon?
- xii.⁴ Skeleton of adult male, probably 25 to 30 æt. lying underneath preceding skeleton, head at W.N.W. feet at E.S.E. Femur, 19.2 ins. Humerus, 13.7 ins. Globose Romano-British type. Stature, 5 ft. 10 in.

September 26, 1868.

- xiii¹. *Skeleton of adult woman.* Femur, 16 in. Stature, 5 ft. In a grave running from W.N.W. by N.W. to E.S.E. by S.E. its depth being 35 in. to stone which was under the back of her head. The vertex of the head was horizontal, the frontal norma looking E.S.E. and the vertebræ of the neck being underneath the base of the skull. The head of the humerus was 2 in. from the skull. No relics nor traces of nails in this grave. Possibly a coffinless one. Elongated type. A number of shards were with this skeleton, but I think it may have been an Anglo-Saxon woman, such as No. x. of March 17, 1868.
- xiv². *Skeleton of young man.* Femur, 17.6. Stature, 5 ft. 4.4 in. The skull lay on its right side, in a grave running from W.N.W. to E.S.E. of 36 in. deep, without pottery or nails. Elongated British type.
- xv³. *Skeleton of old man.* Femur, 17.9. Stature, 5 ft. 7.6 in. From a grave running from W.N.W. to E.S.E. 32 in. to top of skull, which was lying on its right side, not raised. The lower jaw a little on one side, not, however, so much as the head. A stone 9 in. long, 5 in. across, and 3½ in. thick, was so close to the forehead as to render it difficult to think a coffin could have been present. Elongated British type. Very fine skull, nearly of same size as the largest skull of the Dinnington series. See *Cambridge Journal of Anatomy and Physiology*, vol. iii. p. 253, 1868.
- xvi⁴. *Skeleton of old man.* Femur, 16.3 in. Stature, 5 ft. 1½ ins. From grave of same direction and depth as others; no nails, but some fragments of pottery and "marks of burnings." Elongated British type.
- xvii⁵. *Skeleton of young woman, enlarged River-bed type.* Femur, 16.2 ins. Stature, 5 ft. 7.0 in. From a grave running N.N.W. by N.W. at 36 in. deep, one foot deeper than the Anglo-Saxon girl's grave No. ix¹. of Sept. 25, under which it ran. There was a large stone close to the forehead. The head was on its left side, looking slightly upwards. A large fragment of the rim of an urn was found between the left os innominatum and sacrum of this skeleton. A small nail was also found in this grave.

September 28, 1868.

- xviii. *Skeleton, reported by men by whom it was taken out as having been discovered in levelling the ground and smoothing the inequalities caused by the excavations of Friday and Saturday, Sept. 25 and 26, and as having been in a grave of same direction as, but of much less depth (viz. only 18.19 in.) than, the other graves.* It was "lying with its face downwards, as also its leg bones; and was found with two pieces of iron, and also a knife. One of the pieces of iron reached from its right elbow to its shoulder; the other was between the hip bone and the bottom of the grave. The knife was underneath the frame, about the middle of the body. The piece by the arm was a long piece all joined in one." Probably buried when bearers drunk. A coin was sent with this skeleton. Not verified? Postumus? Young (? middle aged) Anglo-Saxon man of broader head type, many carious teeth, bones much water-worn. Femur, 17.8; 5 ft. 7.2 in. stature. Had received and repaired during life a severe injury on left frontal and both parietals.
- xix. *Skull with one long bone, the humerus considerably worn, the rest decayed or water-worn, as also the lower jaw. No relics nor iron. In a grave of same direction as preceding, and as Romano-British, but deeper. Of elongated Romano-British type. Old man.*
- xx. *Child. The long bones not brought, having been beneath the growing crop of turnips. First dentition in place.*
- xxi. *Bones of infant about time of birth, taken out of a grave about 18 in. deep, and of ordinary direction, W.N.W. to E.S.E.*

One of these pieces is a bar.

TABULAR VIEW OF RESULTS OF OSTEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS.

I. Table of Skulls and Skeletons illustrating the several Types and Nationalities.

The Celtic or Romano-British cranium of the "Cimbric" type of Retzius is illustrated by

Male crania, with average stature of 12 skeletons, 5ft. 8.3in.	A	vii. May, 1867.
		xvi. _____
		iii. Sept. 1867. ✓
		vii. _____
		ix. Jan. 15, 1868. ✓
		xi. _____
		xii. _____
		xx. Jan. 20, 1868.
		xxi. Feb. 8, 1868. ✓
		xxii. _____
		xxv. Feb. 21, 1868.
		xxvii. _____
		i. March 17, 1868.
		ii. _____ ? A.S.
		iv. _____ ? A.S. -
		v. Sept. 1867 ? A.S.
		iii. March 23, 1868.
		xx. Sept. 26, 1868.
		xi. Mar. 17, 1868 ? A.S.
		xix. Sept. 28, 1868.

Female crania with average stature of 9 skeletons, 4ft. 11.5in.

Cranium B.	B	Oct. 1864.
		xi. May, 1867. ✓
		xii. _____
		xv. _____
		xix. _____
		xxvii. Dec. 31, 1867.
		xvii. Jan. 20, 1868.
		xxiv. Feb. 21, 1868.
		iii. Mar. 17, 1868.
		i. Mar. 23, 1868, ? A.S.
		ii. _____
		viii. Apr. 1, 1868. ✓
		xiii. Sept. 26, 1868. ✓

The globose Romano-British type, the "Sion typus" of His and Rüttimeyer, is illustrated by

Male crania, with average stature of 11 skeletons, 5ft. 8.5in.		i. April, 1867.
		x. May, 1867. <i>CT-7</i> ✓
		ii. Leaden coffin, 1867. ✓
		xxiii. May, 1867. -
		xxiii. Feb. 21, 1868.
		iv. March 23, 1868. ✓
		xii. Sept. 25, 1868. ✓
		viii. March 17, 1868. ✓
		ix. March 14, 1868. ✓
		vi. Sept. 1867. <i>CT-7</i> ✓
		iii. April 1, 1868. -

1 Female cranium, of size corresponding to male variety of globose type.

March 4, 1868.

8 Female crania, of smaller size, and of a type which may be called the *enlarged river-bed type*, with 7 skeletons averaging 4 ft. 9.5 inches, are represented by—

		vi. April, 1867. ✓
		ii. April, 1867. ✓
		xi. April 1, 1868. ✓
		vi. April 1, 1868. <i>CT-7</i> ✓
		i. Sept. 1867.
		xvii. Sept. 1868.
		xiii. Jan. 15, 1868. ✓
		xi. May 1867.

One male cranium which belonged to a man of 6 feet may be looked upon as furnishing a form transitional from an enlarged river-bed type to the globose Romano-British form.

xix. Feb. 8, 1868.

2 Female crania, of a small size and a type which may be spoken of as the *cylindrocephalic river-bed type*, with a mean stature of 5 feet, are represented by—

ii. Sept. 1867. ✓
iv. Jan. 1868.

479

63

Cemetery at Frilford, Berks.

Table I.—*continued.*

Of skulls, which, though not found in with, are, from other causes, conjectured to have belonged to <i>Anglo-Saxons</i> .	there are	3 <i>Male crania</i>	{	v. Sept. 1867.
				iv. March 17, 1868.
				xi. —————
		3 <i>Female crania</i>	{	x. March 17, 1868.
				xiv. Jan. 15, 1868.
				i. March 23, 1868.
Of Roman, or Romano-British, skulls of the "Hohberg" type and stature 5ft. 10·5in.	there are 3 <i>Male crania</i>	{		i. Leaden coffin, 1867.
				xiv. May, 1867. —
				xxii. —————
Anglo-Saxons with relics . . .	{	<i>Female crania</i>	{	A. Nov. 1864. —
				xiii. May, 1867. —
				v. March 17, 1868. ♂
				ii. April 1, 1868. ♂
				ix. Sept. 25, 1868. xxii Jan. 6. 1869-
	{	<i>Male crania</i>	{	xviii. Feb. 8, 1868. —
				i. April 1, 1868. —
				xviii. Sept. 28, 1868. —
	{	<i>Males—Bones imperfect</i> . .	{	v. May, 1867.
				iv. Sept. 1867.
	{	<i>Child</i>	{	v. April 1, 1868.

II. Numerical Table.

<i>Men from Leaden coffins, in 1864 and 1867</i>		{		Old men	. . . . . 2	{		. . . 4
				Middle-aged	. . . . . 2			
<i>Men of Hohberg type, besides one from leaden coffin, i. 1867</i>		{		Old	. . . . . 1	{		. . . 2
				Young	. . . . . 1			
<i>Anglo-Saxons with relics or in urns</i>	{	Young or middle-aged men with relics				. . . . . 4	}	. . . 21
		Old man				. . . . . 1		
		Young women				. . . . . 2		
		Middle-aged				. . . . . 1		
		Old				. . . . . 1		
		Children				. . . . . 2		
		Adults in urns (one about puberty				. . . . . 3		
		Urn unopened				. . . . . 1		
Children in urns				. . . . . 5				
<i>Skeletons supposed to have belonged to Anglo-Saxons though found without relics</i>	{	Men	{	Old	. . . . . 1	}	3	. . . 6
				Middle-aged	. . . . . 1			
				Young	. . . . . 1			
		Women	{	Old	. . . . . 1	}	3	
				Young	. . . . . 2			
<i>Romano-Britons of elongated oval capacious type, called "Cimbric," by Retzius, Ethnologische Schriften, p. 108</i>	{	Men	{	Old	. . . . . 11	}	21	. . . 32
				Middle-aged	. . . . . 3			
				Young	. . . . . 7			
		Women	{	Old	. . . . . 4	}	11	
				Middle-aged	. . . . . 1			
				Young	. . . . . 6			

Excavations in an ancient

<i>Romano-Britons of globose or "Sion" type, the male crania of great size occasionally, and the female in only one instance approaching the larger male crania in dimensions</i>	Men	{	Old	7	}	10	}	. . . 21
			Middle-aged	2				
			Young	1				
	Women	{	Old	6	}	11	}	
Middle-aged			1					
Young			4					
<i>Male skeleton of enlarged River-bed type (Old)</i> 1								
<i>Skeletons the type of which has not been determined, the bones having been too much injured by water-wear or otherwise</i>	Men	{	Old	1	}	2	}	
			Young	1				
	Women	{	Old	1	}	6	}	. . . 14
			Young	5				
	Sex undetermined	{	Old	2	}	6	}	
			Young	4				
<i>Children found without relics and in graves</i>	Infants 4							. . . 23
	Within period of first dentition 14							
	From period of commencement of second dentition to that of puberty 5							
Total								<u>123</u>

Of which 123 there are	{	30 children	}	Of which 123—	
		25 old men			
		13 old women			
		19 young women			
		15 young men			
		8 middle-aged men			
		3 middle-aged women			
		2 old persons of undetermined sex			
		4 young persons of undetermined sex			
		3 adults from urns			
		1 urn unopened			
					48 are men.
					35 are women.

*I. Coins.*FIXED POINTS FOR ARGUING AS TO DATE AND NATIONALITY OF THE SKELETONS
FOUND AT FRILFORD.

In leaden coffin No. i. Jan. 1867, five coins, of which one was a coin of Constantine the younger, one a coin of Valens, one a coin of Gratian.

In the leaden coffin opened by J. Y. Akerman, Esq. F.S.A. Oct. 1864, and also in one of the graves opened by him at the same time, a coin of Constantine I. was found.

In the point where graves xvii. and xviii. of Jan. 20 and Feb. 8, 1868, intersected, a coin of Constans was found. Possibly accidentally fallen in.

451
65

Cemetery at Frilford, Berks.

With *skeleton* xxiv. of Feb. 21, 1868, an old woman, of the elongated oval Romano-British or Celtic type, five coins were found, of which one belonged to Valens, and another to Constans I.

With *skull* ix. of April 1, 1868, a coin was found, which is lost.

With *skeleton* iv. Jan. 9, 1868, of a very old woman, of small cylindrocephalic type, three coins were found, which could not be identified.

In the grave, but towards the lower end of it, whither it may have found its way accidentally, in which the Anglo-Saxon girl No. ix. of Sept. 25, 1868, a Byzantine, 4th century, Decentius.

In the *Roman rubbish-heap*, examined Sept. 24, 1868, a coin was found, one of the many imitated from Roman originals in 5th and 6th centuries. Very common in England.

With the *skeleton* No. xviii. of Sept. 28, 1868, a coin was sent, Postumus (?)

II. Relics.

Lower jaws iv. of April and May, 1867. Reported to have been found with an umbo No. v. +

Skeleton No. xiii. of May, 1867. Anglo-Saxon woman. Was found with fibulæ and beads.

Skeleton No. v. of March 17, 1868. Anglo-Saxon woman. Was found with fibulæ, beads, and pin. and knife.

Skeleton No. ii. of April 1, 1868. Anglo-Saxon woman. Was found with fibulæ of Midland counties type, with scoops and pickers on ring, and with a knife. But see "Further Researches, Long Wittenham," *Archæologia*, xxxix. Pl. XI. p. 142.

Skeleton No. iv. of Sept. 1867. Anglo-Saxon man. Was found with an umbo and a spear head.

Skeleton No. xviii. of Feb. 8, 1868. Anglo-Saxon man. Was found with an umbo, a spear head, a knife, and some Roman tiles set round his grave.

Skeleton No. i. of April 1, 1868. Was found with an umbo, a spear head with a central raised ridge, a buckle, and a knife.

Skeleton No. v. of a *child*, April 1, 1868. Was found with two beads, not spherical, and therefore probably Anglo-Saxon.

Skeleton No. ix. of Sept. 25, 1868. Anglo-Saxon girl. Was found with two fibulæ. A coin was also found towards the lower end of her grave, but may have fallen or worked its way into the grave without any intention on the part of the burying persons. The coin was a fourth century Byzantine coin of Decentius.

Skeleton No. xviii. of Sept. 28, 1868. Anglo-Saxon man. Was found with the face downwards, and with two pieces of iron, probably remnants of a crushed umbo, a knife, and a coin, which was considered as probably of Postumus.

I. Urns.

- | | | | |
|----------------------|---|--|---|
| i. Anglo-Saxon . . . | { | Plain urn, iv. of Jan. 25, 1867, containing bones of a child, 2 to 3 years old. | . |
| | { | Patterned urn, xvii. of May, 1867, containing bones of child before second set of teeth. | . |
| 1. Cremation . . . | { | Plain urn, xviii. of May, 1867, containing bones of person before age of puberty. | . |
| | { | Patterned urn, ix. of Sept. 1867, containing bones of child under 8 years of age. | . |

Arms and ornaments.

1st 2nd 3rd

1st 2nd 3rd

. *Excavations in an ancient Cemetery*

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| | Plain urn, iii ^a . of Jan. 9, 1868, containing bones of child from 5 to 6 years of age. +
Plain urn, vi. of Jan. 15, 1868, containing bones of child from 9 to 10 years of age. +
Plain urn, xvi. of Jan. 20, 1868, unopened. +
Plain urn, iii ^a . of April 1, 1868, containing bones of adult. +
Plain urn, with two bosses, iii ^b . of April 1, 1868, containing bones of adult. + | |
| 1. Cremation (<i>continued</i>) | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | | |
| | Patterned vessel in British Museum, of date 1864. +
Patterned fragment, figured Plate i. found Sept. 1867. +
Patterned fragment, figured Plate ii. found March 17, 1868, No. vi. + | |
| 2. Holy Water Vessels(?) | | |
| | | |
| ii. Roman | A Roman vessel was found perfect at bottom of one of the walls. 0 e | |
| | vi. of Sept. 1867, under urn No. ix. | |
| iv. Skeletons found under urns | i ^r . of Jan 9, 1868, under urn No. iii ^a . of Jan. 8, 1868.
iii. of April 1, 1868, under urn No. iii ^a . of April 1, 1868, not reconstructed. | |
| v. Skeletons found under otherskeletons, which are identifiable by their relics | xvii. of Jan. 20, 1868, was under Anglo-Saxon man, xviii. of Feb. 8.
xvii. of Sept. 26, 1868, was under Anglo-Saxon girl, ix. of Sept. 25, 1868. | |
- See also No. 3 (xxxvii.), of Jan. 20, 1869, found under Anglo-Saxon woman, xxxviii. with fibulæ, +
 No. 2 (xxiii.) of Jan. 6, 1869, found under Anglo-Saxon woman, xxii. with fibulæ, +
 both of which are in the Oxford University Museum, as also No. xii. 4 of September 25, 1868, p. 60, *supra*.

DESCRIPTION OF PLATES.

Plate XXIII.

Fig. 1. Urn found 15 inches above a Romano-British skeleton. It contained the burnt bones of a child under 8 years of age, and also some fragments of glass, but no other relics. A simple cruciform stamp, a stick with a blunt point, and a thumb, must have been employed for the ornamentation of this urn; the impressions which they have made are visible on the internal surface. Though the pattern of this urn resembles that of the urn figured Plate XXIV. fig. 3, in some general characters, it differs from it in many points of detail, and also in the larger matter of being prolonged below the most projecting zone of the urn's surface instead of being limited below by that line. The width of this urn at the top,

where its top turns out a little, as may be seen from the small part which has escaped the injuries of the plough, is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches; its greatest width at the line just spoken of is $7\frac{1}{2}$. See *Catalogue*, Sept. 1867, No. ix.

- Fig. 2. Fragment of vessel, probably a holy-water vessel, with the "characteristic Anglo-Saxon bumps" upon it. See *Horæ Ferales*, p. 230. At the base of each "bump," and between it and the encircling zones, a small boat-shaped depression exists.
- Fig. 3. Patterned vessel, probably, like the preceding, a holy-water vessel. It was broken when found, and was only about 4 inches from the surface of the ground. Close to it were a mass of the skull bones of an infant about the time of birth, which, however, do not bear marks of fire. The vessel may have been disturbed to make room for the infant, or it may have been broken by the plough. See *Catalogue*, March 17, 1868, No. vi.
- Fig. 4. Urn which contained the bones of a child of about 9-10 years of age. It is of strong construction, and shows "einen in der Ausbauchung des Gefäßes scharf vorspringenden Rand," which Schaafhausen has (*Die Germanische Grabstätten am Rhein*, 1868, p. 133) spoken of as the commonest form of old Germanic as opposed to Roman pottery. See *Catalogue*, Jan. 15, 1868, No. vi.
- Fig. 5. Urn of delicate fragile structure; when found, containing the bones of a child of from 5-6 years of age, and placed about 18 inches above the skeleton of a Romano-British woman buried with three coins. The place it occupied was about a yard to the right of that occupied by the urn (ix.; Sept. 1867) figured above at fig. 1. See *Catalogue*, Jan. 9, 1868, No. iii^a.
- Fig. 6. Spear-head, $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, found with the skeleton of a young Anglo-Saxon man (iv.; Sept. 1867), on the right side of his head. An umbo was also found with the same body, which occupied a grave of the Romano-British direction and depth, with stones set along its sides. Remains of a previous interment were found in this grave. See pp. 4 and 18, *supra*.
- Fig. 7. Spear-head found with skeleton of a young Anglo-Saxon man interred in a shallow grave above and at right angles to the other graves, with an umbo and a knife, and the buckle figured below. This spear-head contrasts with the one figured above not only by its greater size, $10\frac{7}{16}$ inches, but also in possessing the central raised ridge which has been noticed in the Assagaye of the Hottentots (see *Pagan Saxondom*, p. x. introd.) and in the weapons of other races. See *Catalogue*, April 1, 1868, No. i.
- Fig. 8. Buckle found upon the pelvis of the skeleton (i.; April 1, 1868) with which the spear-head figured above was found. This is the only buckle which has been found at Frilford during the period of my investigations; Mr. Akerman was more fortunate in this respect. For the distinctively Teutonic character of the buckle see L'Abbé Cochet, *Tombeau de Childéric*, p. 233, 1859. See also Akerman, *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 58. The length of this buckle is only $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch.

Plate XXIV.

- Fig. 1. Fragment of urn of coarse texture found lying over the left hip of an Anglo-Saxon woman, who was buried in a shallow grave, with fibulæ and beads (see *Catalogue*, May 16, 1867, No. xiii.), and whose skull is figured below at fig. 5. The height of this urn is 11 inches, and its girth, as calculated, would have been about 31. There were no calcined bones found in relation with it, but it is of the same texture as the urn figured next, fig. 2, and of the same shape as an urn found at Long Wittenham, see *Archæologia*, vol. xxxviii. Plate xx. fig. 4, both of which did contain such bones. Probably it had been replaced in the position in which it was found after having been displaced in the digging of the grave. See page 20, *ibique citata*.
- Fig. 2. Coarse-textured urn found containing calcined bones of human subject at the age of puberty. Its height is 6 inches; its circumference $24\frac{1}{4}$. It has no pattern either within or without, but is blackened by the action of fire on both sides. See *Catalogue*, May, 1867, No. xviii.
- Fig. 3. Urn found containing the bones of a child, in whom the first set of teeth had in all probability come into use, and showing a pattern similar to those ordinarily recognised as characteristic of Anglo-Saxon and other Teutonic funeral ware, whether cremation urns or holy-water vessels. For references to memoirs bearing upon this subject see p. 15, note *. *Catalogue*, April and May, 1867, No. xvii. The actual size of this urn and of the three which follow on this plate is $\frac{2}{3}$ of that given here. Two multiradiate stamps and a simply pointed stick must have been employed for making the stamped patterns, besides, probably, a second stick for making the encircling scorings and the vandykes on this urn.
- Fig. 4. Small urn of finer texture than the preceding, but like it in the absence of pattern. Its height is $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and its girth 16 inches. It contained the bones of a child which are considerably comminuted, but which enable us to say that the child had attained its first set of teeth, and that it would not, consequently, have been considered even by the Romans as "minor igne rogi." See *Juvenal*, Sat. xv. 149; *Plin.* vii. 16. An urn of similar shape, but said to have been of very coarse earthenware, is figured by Mr. Wylie at fig. 2, Plate VII. of his *Fairford Graves*, as having contained the remains of a child. Another urn of the same type, and not very different in size, is figured p. 32 of the *Saxon Obsequies* by the Hon. R. C. Neville as having been found at Little Wilbraham, in Cambridgeshire. See *Catalogue*, Jan. 1867, No. iv.
- Fig. 5. Skull of Anglo-Saxon woman (May, 1867, No. xiii.) found buried with fibulæ, perforated glass beads, the large fragment of a cremation urn, figured above (fig. 1), and some smaller fragments of Roman and of Saxon pottery. After making all allowances for the peculiarities characteristic of the female sex which this skull shows, such as the parieti-frontal and the parieti-occipital angulations, combined with general smoothness and absence of ridges, we are still able to say of it that it possesses tribal peculiarities which enable us to distinguish it, as also the other skulls found interred with the Anglo-Saxon insignia, from the skulls of the Romano-Britons. For the peculiarities of the female skull, see Ecker, *Archiv für Anthropologie*, i. 1, 81, 1866; Welcker, *Untersuchungen*, pp. 65 and 141, 1862.

- Fig. 6. Rectangular piece of iron hooping which had, in all probability, served as the fastening of a coffin. A large nail has been driven through the upper end of the vertical bar. See Dr. Thurnam, quoted in the *Osteological Catalogue of the Museum of the London College of Surgeons*, vol. ii. p. 881, 5712. *Catalogue*, Dec. 31, 1867, No. xxvii.
- Fig. 7. Lid of Roman coffin (see note p. 5, *supra*), which was simply placed upon the top of a rectangular oblong leaden coffin, the whole being inclosed in an outer casing of wood.
- Fig. 8. Half of Roman coffin, crushed out of original shape, which was that of an oblong box of equal width at both ends and without any soldering. See p. 5, *et seqq. supra*. About 1½ of actual size.

Plate XXV.

- Fig. 1. Urn preserved in the Library of Queen's College, Oxford, and probably from Faversham in Kent. For evidence, see p. 16, note ^a. This urn has been figured here not only for the sake of comparison with the other urns, but mainly because but few Anglo-Saxon cremation urns have been found in Kent at all. The contour and the pattern are both alike, and equally distinctive of Teutonic funeral vases. For the pattern three different multiradiate stamps must have been employed as well as a simply pointed stick. As in the urn figured at 1, in Plate xix. the pattern reaches some way below the well-defined line which corresponds with the greatest diameter of the urn. For the rarity of Anglo-Saxon urns in Kent see *British Assoc. Report*, 1855, p. 146. *Inventorium Sepulchrale*, xv. xli. 184, 185. Wylie, *Archæologia*, 37.
- Fig. 2. Plain urn of coarsish paste from Frilford (iii.^b; April 1, 1868) found containing the bones of an adult. The boss on its exterior has no depression corresponding to it on the internal surface of the urn. See *Horæ Ferales*, Plate xxx. p. 222, and p. 59, *supra*.
- Figures 3, 4, and 5, represent fragments of Roman lathe-turned pottery found in what had served as the rubbish pit of a Roman residence at Frilford. The patterns upon these fragments may have served as models for the Anglo-Saxons in making their ware by hand.
- Figures 6 and 7. A pair of odd fibulæ found with the skeleton of an Anglo-Saxon woman, which was buried about a foot above another skeleton, which had in all probability, therefore, belonged to a Romano-Briton. The cruciform fibula, which has been supposed to be the common Midland County form, was found on the right, and the plain disc-shaped fibula on the left shoulder; stones had been set round the body, and a lump of Niedermennig lava was found at the feet of the skeleton. See p. 24, *supra*, and Akerman's *Pagan Saxondom*, p. 35, Plate xviii.; and *Collectanea Antiqua*, vi. Plate xxviii. p. 150, 1868, for figure of female skeleton similarly buried with odd fibulæ on the two shoulders.

*See 6. 1869. xxii (i)
Yours 16" Station 4.10"*

Of one of these gifts—the collection of skulls, bones, and archeological relics from Frilford Cemetery, in Berkshire, England—some idea may be formed by the accompanying extracts from a descriptive account forwarded by the donor, Professor Rolleston, of the University of Oxford:—

ACCOUNT OF SKULLS AND OTHER RELICS SENT TO THE CORNELL UNIVERSITY.

OLD ROMANO-BRITON.—*I Skull.* "No. iii, May 23, 1870," or "No. iii, R. B." *Romano-Briton*, "May 23, '70." The skull and bones labelled "No. iii, May 23, 1870," belonged in all probability to a Romanized Briton, inasmuch as the skeleton of which they formed a part was found in one of the Romano-British graves, described in the *Archæologia* (vol. xlii, p. 423 [6]), and inasmuch as it was found to have an Anglo-Saxon skeleton (No. vii, May 23, 1870, sent herewith) lying superficially to it by a distance of 18 inches. This skull and the three others all alike came from the Frilford Cemetery described, *l. c.* The skull belongs to the four which I have spoken of in this Memoir under the name of the "Globose Romano-British" type see p. 455 (41) *Archæologia l. c.* and which I have supposed to correspond with the "Sion Typus" of His and Rüttimeyer. I say this to save repetition in manuscript of what the Society of Antiquaries has printed for me in the Memoir sent herewith. The old age of the owner of these remains and the signs of his having been exposed to rough handling (see right clavicle and humerus) are points, as I have thought, not without their significance. Two fragments of Roman pottery were found in the neighborhood of these bones. The patellæ accompanying the other bones showed that the skeleton had lain undisturbed since the burial of its owner.

(423) YOUNG ANGLO-SAXON.—*II Skull.* "No. vii, May 23, 1870."—The skeleton to which the skull labelled "No. vii, May 23, 1870" belonged was found lying with its feet at the north and its head at the south, in a grave, therefore, running nearly at right angles to that of the Romano-Briton No. iii. This latter grave was eighteen inches deeper than the one containing the bones and other relics of which we are now treating, and as it ran underneath it, must have been dug before it. Now, with the skeleton to which skull No. vii belonged were found the unmistakeably Anglo-Saxon relics which I send with it, namely an umbo, a spear-head, and a knife of iron. There would appear, therefore, to be no possible source of fallacy to beset the conclusion that we have here to deal with an Anglo-Saxon and in the previous case with a Romano-British interment. (For this argument in point and in detail see Memoir on Frilford p. 7.) The skull was about 24 inches from the surface of the ground. The knees of No. iii underlaid it at a distance deeper by about 18 inches. The femur was about 17 inches long; neither this nor any other of the long bones have been recovered uninjured, the youth of the subject having militated against our obtaining them in the perfect condition in which the bones of No. iii are sent. The umbo was found overlying the pelvis and lower abdominal region. The knife was found on the right side of the pelvis just above the right hip. The spear head was knocked out of the ground whilst we were working out the femora of No. iii, and its appearance was the first hint we had of the presence of an Anglo-Saxon. Consequently we did not discover its exact position relating to the head of the Anglo-Saxon; it was, however, somewhere very near to it. Two broad-headed nails accompany the other relics. I think they may have been shield studs; one of them was found close by the right ulna. The handle of the umbo accompanies it, in two pieces I am sorry to say. I do not think the Abbé Cochet is right in thinking that the hollow in the handle was intended to receive the fingers of the hand which grasped it; indeed this specimen shows that this hollow was intended

See *Archæologia* p. 455 (41)
Skull No. 6.1.

Cornell Univ. Register: 1870-1871

the Institution, given to it his services as Professor of English History, for which he has steadily refused to accept any salary.

to receive a wooden support on to which the umbo itself was nailed. * I removed, I think, every one of these relics myself, as I did also all those labelled No. iii, with the exception of the skull which a person present anticipated me in taking up from the bottom of the grave.

OLD ANGLO-SAXON WOMAN.—III Skull. "No. iv—a, May 23 and May 27, 1870."—The skull and bones labelled "No. iv—a, May 23" was found with the similarly labelled Anglo-Saxon ornaments, viz. : two bronze fibulæ, an iron knife, and an iron ring, which are sent with them. The skeleton, like the preceding one, had been placed in a grave which crossed an older grave containing a skeleton of one of the conquered Romano-Britons (No. iv—b., May 23, 1870.) lying at a lower level. But it differs from the preceding Anglo-Saxon skeleton, as it belonged to a woman of advanced age instead of belonging to a young man, and as it was buried with the lower limbs bent upon themselves and upon the trunk instead of being extended at full length. The history of the discovery of this skeleton is as follows:—Some quarrying operations had exposed a skull without disturbing it *in situ*, where a quantity of undermined soil had parted away in what the workmen call a "fall" from the undisturbed, not undermined ground. On either side of that cranium ("No. iv b., May 23") were seen two flat stones placed as a lean to, one on either side of the skull. On either side were seen phalanges and tarsal bones; and on further investigation the ends of three long bones were also discovered in the neighborhood of the skull. The coming on of the night of Monday, May 23, prevented us from doing more than find out that these long bones or rather the parts of them which we were able to expose in the vertical face of the ground, at that time very dry and hard, were the distal ends of a tibia and fibula and the proximal end of a humerus. The skull was removed that evening and will have its history given below under heading iv, "No. iv—b May 23, 1870." The problem of the relation of the long bones to this skull was left to be worked out on the Friday following, viz., May 27. On that day Mr. George Herbert Morrell, M. A., of Exeter College, who was good enough to give his help, worked out that problem to the following effect:—The long leg bones were found to belong to a different skeleton from that the skull of which had been removed, and which was at a deeper level by from 7 to 4 inches in various parts, the upper grave having varied in depth in different parts. With the more superficially placed skeleton with which we have to deal under this heading ("No. iv—a, May 23.") were found the following ornaments characteristic of the female Anglo-Saxon interment in the non cremation period (of transition, see p. 20, Memoir on Frilford.) First, two cruciform bronze fibulæ found at the junction of the clavicles with the sternum, such as may be seen figured, Pl. vii, fig. 31 of Neville's "Saxon Obsequies," the dumb-bell shaped lateral bosses having been detached in every case, and recovered only in one. Secondly,

* See Abbé Cochet, Normandie Souterraine, p. 239. Pl. viii fig. 2 & 3 Pl. xvi fig. 5. The youth of this young Anglo-Saxon man is significant. See p. 29, Memoir on Frilford. The cranial characters also have an importance. See p. 43 and 44, l. c.

with the fibula which lay upon the junction of the left clavicle with the sternum was found a spear-shaped bronze pin which may have been possibly the tongue of the brooch: but which probably was the shroud pin (of which I have spoken, see Memoir, p. 56). Thirdly, two small pieces of bronze which were probably the catches of the brooches. Round several of these various pieces and implements of bronze, bits of textile fabric were and are still recognizable. Fourthly, an iron ring, such as the Abbé Cochet in his *Normandie Souterraine*, p. 216, ed. i, speaks of as having been found by him *à satiété même* in Merovingian interments but which he says have not within his recollection been figured by Wylie, Smith, Troyon, Lindenschmit, de Caumont etc. It was found on the left hand middle finger, (?) and as having no trace upon it of a tongue, was probably not a buckle, but what it is seen to be, namely, a ring. Fifthly, a knife, in two pieces, which was found on the left side but a little underneath the left hip, and in the immediate neighborhood of which a rectangular small piece of the same metal was found, probably from the fastenings of the handle of the knife.

The lower leg bones of the skeleton to which skull "No. iv—a May 23-27" belonged, lay about a foot to the east of skull "iv—b May 23," and they were about 7 in. nearer to the surface of the ground. The long axis of the tibiae was S. E., the patellæ were *in situ*, the legs were crossed, the right being uppermost; the knees were higher by 3 in. than the distal ends of the tibiae. The femora ran in a S. W. direction nearly at right angles to the tibiae; their length was 18 in. The heads of the thigh-bones were 26 inches below the surface, that is to say, they were five inches lower than the knees. The axis of the pelvis lay East and West, and the trunk again very nearly North and South; the depth at which they lay being 26 inches. The head was raised five inches above the sternum by three limestones which had been placed under it; and probably from having had a stone which was above it forced upon it when the hard ground was being picked down, it had some of the many fractures which it has undergone inflicted upon it. But these bones had suffered much as shallowly buried bones have often been observed to do, from water wear, before they were excavated by us. The arms were crossed and the hands folded inwards.

IV. Skull No. iv, 6, May 23, 1870, formed part of the skeleton of a little old Romano-Briton, of some five feet two inches in height, who, unlike the Anglo-Saxon woman buried above him, was buried in a coffin, at least if we may say so upon the evidence of the nails which were found in considerable abundance in the grave. The patellæ was not *in situ*, having probably been disturbed; though none other of the bones appear to have been so, when the Anglo-Saxon body (iv—a) was put in. Between the pelvis of the deeper lying skeleton and that of the other there were only 4 inches intervening; and it was in following up the pelvis of the Romano-Briton that the knife of the Anglo-Saxon woman already mentioned, was come upon, so close together were they. But barring the loss of the patellæ,

head at South

head at NW by N

the Institution, given to it his services as Professor of ~~English History~~.

"It was little he recked as they let him sleep on,
In the grave where a Briton had laid him.

Fragments of charcoal and of bones were found above the skeleton where it was not overlaid by the Anglo-Saxon one. (For this see *Memoir*, p. 10). The skull is what I should call a transitional form between the "Globose" and the "Elongated" Romano-British skulls spoken of *l. c.* p. 62. For the great age attained to by the civilized Romano-British see *ibid.* p. 20. The tibiae show a tendency to be platycnemic. I have observed the same in an Anglo-Saxon woman's skeleton, also dug up at Frilford. Some of the bones sent herewith were dug out on Friday, May 27, and hence some are labelled iv R. B., for Romano-Briton, May 27, 1870, instead of iv. b., May 23, 1870.

The reconstruction which these skulls more or less needed, they have received at the hands of Charles Robertson, Esq., Demonstrator of Anatomy in the University Museum. George Hobart Morrell, Esq., M. A., and I, took out the skeletons and skulls, Mr. Morrell taking out Nos. iv—a and iv—b, and I taking out Nos. iii, May 23 and viii, May 23, 1870.

Oxford, July 4, 1870.

FACULTY.

The Faculty is divided into resident and non-resident Professors. To the former are entrusted all measures of academic government; the supervision of the various courses of study; and such duties as generally appertain to an academic Senate. The resident Faculty now comprises thirty-two professors, who are assisted by several special instructors. The non-resident Faculty consists of professors selected from among scholars of acknowledged eminence in particular branches of learning. They number, at present, seven, each of whom delivers a series of lectures occupying several weeks of every year. Those of Professors Agassiz, Bayard Taylor and Gould are given during the Winter Trimester; those of Professors Curtis, Lowell and Dwight during the Spring Trimester; while those of Professor Goldwin Smith occupy portions of each Trimester. Several additional professorships—both resident and non-resident—will be created and filled within a short period, and probably before the beginning of another University year. Among these are chairs of Practical and Experimental Agriculture; Political Economy; Rural Economy and Architecture; American History; Physical Geography and Climatology; Comparative Philology; Architecture; and Drawing.

The general University Faculty is furthermore divided into nine special Faculties. Each of these special Faculties constitutes a College,

Ηλέ.ν.δ. Ταφῇ δὲ τοῖς εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν εἰσι
ἴδτε. Τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας προτίθεάσι
τὸν νεκρὸν. καὶ παντοῖα σφάξαντες
ἱεῖα εὐωχεύονται προκαύσαντες
πρῶτον. ἔπειτα δὲ θάπτουσι
κατακαύσαντες ἢ ἄλλως γῆ. Κρυψ
αυτες. χῶμα δὲ χέαντες ἀγῶνα
πιθεῖσι παντοῖον ἐν τῷ τὰ μέγιστον
λέθην τίθεται κατὰ λόγον μουνό
καχίης. ταφῇ μὲν δὲ θεϊκῶν εἰσι
ἴδτε.

Σταυρ. iv. 4. περὶ τὸ σωματικὸν φύλον ὃ ἰὼν Τηλ
λικόν τε καὶ Τηλατικόν καλοῦσιν σαρ
ξ5. ἄλλα ἀνθρωποθυσιῶν εἶδη λέγεται.
καὶ γὰρ κατετόξευον τινες καὶ ἀνεσταυρ
οῦν ἐν ταῖς ἱεροῖς καὶ κατασκευάσαντες
κολοσσὸν χόρτου καὶ ξύλων, ἐμβάλλοντες
εἰς τοῦτον βλαβήματα καὶ θηρία παν
τοῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὠλοκαύτουσιν





ΗΜΕ.Ν.Δ. Ταφῇ δὲ τοῖς εὐδαίμοσι αὐτῶν εἰδὶ
λῖδε. Τρεῖς μὲν ἡμέρας προτίθεάσι
τὸν νεκρὸν. καὶ παντοῖα σφάξαντες
τρίημι εὐωχέονται προκαύσαντες
πρῶτον. εἰπὼν δὲ θάπτουσι
κατακαύσαντες ἢ ἄλλως γῆ. Κρυφ-
λυντες· χῶμα δὲ χέαντες αὐτῶν
πιθέεισι παντοῖον ἐν τῷ τὰ μέγιστα
λέθαι τίθεται κατὰ λόγον μουνό-
κοχίης. Ταφῇ μὲν δὴ θεϊκῶν εἰδὶ
λῖδε.

Σταθ. ιν. κ. περὶ τὸ σὺμπαν φύλον ὃ νῦν Τη-
λικόν τε καὶ Τηλατικόν καλοῦσιν ἀν-
θρώπων. ἄλλα ἀνθρωποθυσιῶν εἶδη λέγεται.
καὶ γὰρ κατετόξευον τινες καὶ ἀνεβίβου-
ον ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς καὶ κατασκευάζαντες
κολοσσὸν χορτοῦ καὶ ξύλων, ἐμβάλλοντες
εἰς τοῦτον βρωμήματα καὶ θηρία παν-
τοῖα καὶ ἀνθρώπους ὅλοκαύτου.

